Pacific School of Religion
Berkeley, Calif.

DO AMERICANS WANT A NEW PARTY?

THE WORLD TOMORROW

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VOL. XIII JULY, 1930 No. 7

Japan's Amazing Record
KIRBY PAGE

A Puritan Revolutionist
The Story of Scott Nearing

Religion and Psychology
HUGH HARTSHORNE

Our Newer Immigrants
CONSTANTINE PANUNZIO

THE WORLD TOMORROW, INC.
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The World Tomorrow

VOL. XIII JULY, 1930 No. 7

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Who's Who in This Issue

Howard Y. Williams is Executive Secretary of the League for Independent Political Action.

Richard B. Gregg is the author of *The Economics of Khaddar* and *The Psychology and Strategy of Gandhi's Non-Violent Resistance.*

Constantine Panunzio, author of several volumes on immigrant problems, is professor of social economics in San Diego Teachers College.

Audrey Wurdemann is a young Seattle poet who has contributed to the *Forum, Bookman, New Yorker,* and other magazines.

Ruth Langland Holberg is an artist who writes occasional verse.

Hugh Hartshorne is a member of the faculty of Teachers College, Columbia University.

Harry Elmer Barnes, formerly professor of sociology in Smith College, is at present engaged in journalism in New York.

Lyle W. Cooper is professor of economics in Marquette University.

"Krishnaji" is the pen name of an Indian poet, philosopher, and Sanskrit scholar.

Katherine Devereux Blake is a writer and lecturer on international problems.

Henry T. Volkening has abandoned Wall Street for the writing profession.

Appearing Soon

Canada and Prohibition
Agnes MacPhail

Trumpet to the People—*The Story of Oswald Garrison Villard*

What Socialism Has Done for Vienna
H. C. Engelbrecht

Eternally the Feminine
C. F. McIntyre

Harold Lloyd and the Chinese
Paul K. Whang

The Meaning of Fellowship
Paul Jones

The World Tomorrow

A Journal Looking Toward a Social Order Based on the Religion of Jesus

Vol. XIII July, 1930 No. 7

Editorials

Hoover Has Failed

It is quite possible that future historians, particularly if they belong to the deterministic school, will write President Hoover's acceptance of the tariff bill down as an inevitability. They will say that a President elected by a political party in which Eastern commercialism and industrial interests dominated could not do anything but submit to these interests. It may be that future events will justify posterity in the conclusion that the Presidential signature to this outrageous bill was the beginning of the end of the dominance of the Republican party in American politics, a party maintained beyond its day by an unreal partnership between the Eastern industrialist and the Western farmer. But the contemporary historian is obliged to postpone deterministic simplifications and to analyze a little more carefully the intricate relationship between the character of statesmen and the testimony of events. If he does so, he will probably come to the conclusion that no one but a very inept politician would have taken Hoover's course.

No political party is as homogeneous as it seems at long range. Eastern finance may dominate the Republican party, but Southern and Western farmers helped to elect Hoover; among his financial supporters there were manufacturers who live by export as well as those who profit by high tariffs on imports. A prudent statesman, even if he had dared to defy the consumer and the farmer, would have known the significance of the sudden apostasy of big manufacturing concerns from the high tariff credos which were once universally accepted in commercial and industrial circles. The Presidential signature involves not only treason to the farmer, for whom the new tariff bill was ostensibly designed, but defiance of two other powerful classes—the consumer and the exporting manufacturer. The political ineptitude of the President is all the more pathetic because his eight years of experience as Secretary of Commerce made him conversant with the growing dependence of our prosperity upon our export trade; and his cosmopolitanism made it impossible for him to be blind to the inevitable international consequences of a national policy designed to force our goods upon the world while we try to prevent the world from selling goods to us. If all these considerations were not enough to prompt a Presidential veto, one might have expected a wise politician to be more circumspect in a day of economic adversity than in halcyon days of prosperity. A prosperous nation is uncritical in its political thought and action and manifests an almost criminal patience with the errors of its politicians. The lucky Coolidge might have escaped the wrath of the multitudes in his era of prosperity, but the hapless Hoover, supposedly more intelligent, was not wise enough to know that a nation in economic doldrums is a censorious nation.

Mr. Hoover's conviction that the flexible provision in the bill, to obtain which involved him in inescapable responsibility for the whole bill, would enable him to correct the worst features of this new tariff legislation is just another evidence of unrealistic political thinking. Even if the flexible provision offered any genuine hope of relief, which it does not, the business of gathering "scientific" data on the cost of production in other countries is such a long and hopeless process that the nation may suffer for years under its heavy tariff burdens before the slightest relief can be offered by executive revision.

The action of the President has completely destroyed the illusions of many liberals that an intelligent engineer would make an extraordinary executive. Waiving the point that Mr. Hoover has revealed limitations of character not previously known, it is obvious that an engineer is at a disadvantage when playing the political game. Politics is an art and a science requiring its own kind of skill, and the outsider, who has not mastered its details, is bound to be more awkward than the devotee of the art. It was precisely because the President was not a politician that he fell such easy prey to the politicians of his party.

We hope that, with one more illusion destroyed, our so-called liberals will become converted to more realistic political thinking and, if they are really honest,

give themselves to the task of the reorganization of our political life so that the problems of an industrial age may be handled intelligently and constructively. President Hoover has dealt one more blow at the "good man" theory of government.

Campaign Expenditures

If Ruth Hanna McCormick and Senator Grundy are right in suggesting that particular virtue attaches to the fact that the quarter of a million dollars which each of them spent in trying to secure a Senatorial nomination came from their private coffers rather than from donations by the "interests," we are confronted with the sorry choice between millionaire representatives or representatives who can collect enough money from millionaire friends to beat their rich opponents. Senator Grundy would not have been any less committed to the manufacturing powers of his state because he spent his own money to secure the nomination. The simple fact is that the growing price of elections merely proves that the two old parties, particularly the Republicans, are dominated by the wealthy classes who must pay out exorbitant sums for propaganda in order to win the support of the man in the street, the latter having no real reason to be enamoured of the candidacy of either one or the other claimant of his suffrage.

More rigorous legislation may mitigate this vice, but it will not be abolished until we have a new political party and sufficient intelligence on the part of the people to lead them to give their allegiance to it without undue pressure of propaganda. It was not by legislation but by a thorough political realignment that the poor man came to even terms with the gentleman in English politics. If the American plutocrat is to go the way of the English gentleman, we will need more than prohibition of excessive campaign expenditures. We will need for one thing enough intelligence among workers to persuade them that a Jim Davis who used Vare organization money is a sorry alternative to a Grundy who spent his own. Neither one of these men could possibly represent one-fifth of the people who voted for them. As for Mrs. McCormick, she is merely a very ambitious and fairly unscrupulous politician without loyalty to any political principle and without any real knowledge of political problems. The feminist leaders and women's magazines that have hailed her nomination as a triumph of the women's cause merely prove how ridiculous were the promises and hopes of another generation that woman suffrage would "clean up" politics. Women deserved the vote because they were human beings, not because they were more than that. In so far as they take delight in the nomination of Mrs. McCormick, they reveal a political infantilism which will retard rather than advance political health in this country.

Gandhi Makes History

Open-minded observers, especially those who are fortunate enough to obtain first-hand accounts, may rightly anticipate important developments in India during the next few months. Indeed, it may not be too romantic to assume that the coming year will witness political results as far-reaching as any that the history of mankind records. If a people should be able to rid themselves of alien rule by the policy of mass disobedience, they will have taught the world a new lesson, the lesson of abolishing injustice and war at the same time. There are both pacifists and critics of pacifism who are very much worried about the violence that is beginning to manifest itself in India. We think they are too squeamish. On the whole, Gandhi has had remarkable success in holding his left wing in line. Considering the nation-wide character of the campaign, the instances in which disturbances have occurred do not bulk very large. It may be that violence on the part of the government will in time beget violence on the part of the native population. But the non-violent campaign is succeeding too well to make such an eventuality probable.

Meanwhile the course of the British Labor Party is not strengthening the faith of the friends of parliamentary socialism in either the courage or the political sagacity of the Labor leaders. The recent pronouncement of the Labor secretary of state for India did not swerve by a hair's breadth from the conventional opinions of the British bureaucracy. Of what good is a new party which lets itself be captured on the one hand by permanent officials and on the other by its political hopes and fears? It is of course easy to criticize at a distance, but we suspect that there is no adequate explanation for the inability of the Labor Government to initiate a single policy beyond those sanctioned by the opposition. It may do so in the near future; but if it does, it will be Gandhi's volunteers rather than its own political sagacity that will deserve the credit. Perhaps it is beyond the reaches of the political virtue of any party to govern wisely on the other side of the earth. In that case it is well that a way seems to have been found to destroy this kind of imperialism. There is no magic which endows a political party with the virtue of governing any class or nation to which it is not responsible. The very hope which drives the laboring man to seek his own political representation rather than trust in the representatives of another class ought to force him to see the absurdity of deciding the fate of another people. But, alas, no man is as willing to be deprived as to gain by political consistency. Wherefore Indians are obliged to use the same political weapons against British laborers as the latter use against their masters.

More Lynchings in the South

Four lynchings in the Southland in as many weeks, two of them at least involving horrible brutality and all of them strongly suggesting the connivance of officials with the mob, give the nation new reasons to pursue the devil of race prejudice with quickened zeal. The lynching in Walhalla, South Carolina, was preceded by threatening mobs on two successive nights before the outrage; yet the county officials made no effort to protect the prisoner. In Sherman, Texas, both the Texas rangers and the national guard were on the scene when the mob burned down the courthouse, and there is a suggestion that they failed to prevent the crime because their orders, particularly those emanating from the governor, left some doubt about the kind of resistance which was expected from them.

The pusillanimity of the officials, while a contributing cause of the outrages, is not, however, the most important factor in the situation. The salient fact is that men and women in the twentieth century can be whipped into such a fury of hatred by the mob spirit that they become capable of outrages which for complete inhumanity challenge comparison with the darkest deeds of the Dark Ages. Since the mob can fan into flame only what is already burning in the embers of the soul of the man in the street, a lynching must be regarded as the natural fruit of a race prejudice which is still universal not only in the South but in the whole nation. Enlightened religion and education must continue an unremitting warfare against such prejudice. These recent exhibitions of inhumanity give us new reasons for doubling our efforts in the cause of racial understanding and goodwill.

Stimson, Friend of the Filipinos

Our Secretary of State has given the advocates of United States imperialism some further respectable cuds to chew on contemplatively during the next few weeks. He has announced frankly and with graceful salaams to the Philippine people—whom we love so much, if only they will continue to be our vassals—that he (speaking, of course, as a friend of the Filipinos) does not believe in independence either now or soon. How Mr. Stimson helps the good cause of American expansionism is indicated by the New York *Times*, which accepts this latest verdict as all but divinely spoken. "When a former Governor-General and present Secretary of State, who knows conditions not only in the Philippine Islands but in the Far East, has no hesitation in opposing a grant of independence at the present time or in the near future, such sentiments cannot be disregarded, as they were when uttered by business men and others suspected of having some ulterior motives."

Ulterior motives, indeed, have prompted not only speeches against independence, but many a pronouncement on behalf of it. There is a group of sugar men and other commercial spokesmen who heartily favor independence for the Philippines, to be followed at once by a prohibitive sugar tariff and duties on other undesirable imports. With them we have no sympathy; but our sympathy is no less diluted for the proponents of imperialism who, no matter how sincerely, adopt social attitudes which are against human freedom, sound international and interracial relations, and the unmistakable desires, in this particular case, of the Filipinos themselves. Curiously enough, the last point alone is a determinant for us.

We once heard a bright young man declaim that he would rather be knifed in the back to his face than be punched in the jaw behind his back. If the Filipinos are at all like that, in Mr. Stimson's remarks they have their hearts' desire. We also recently heard a shrewd student of American imperialism express wonder whether we kept our navy to protect our islands, or our islands to protect our navy. . . . Yes, that's our guess too.

League, Pact, and Pacifists

Uncritical rejoicing over the unquestionable advance for peace made by the Pact of Paris has often taken the form of declarations that "the pacifist is now the patriot." That time may come, but it is not here yet.

Holland is a member of the League and a signer of the Pact. Fifteen pacifists now languish in prison at Scheveningen for refusal of military service.

Switzerland is a member and "home nation" of the League, and a signer of the Pact. War resisters are sentenced to prison in this country and are often resentenced when their terms have run out.

Czechoslovakia is a member of the League and a signer of the Pact. Its government maintains a severe censorship over pacifist literature, persecutes pacifist societies, and jails war resisters.

France is a member of the League and a signer of the Pact. French war resisters are jailed and re-jailed ruthlessly.

Soviet Russia is not a member of the League but is a signer of the Pact. It persecutes its pacifists in many cases mercilessly and makes no concessions to its war resisters, though at one time it adopted for a while a tolerant and sympathetic policy.

Finland is a member of the League and a signer of the Pact. It arrests active pacifists and imprisons war resisters.

In Jugoslavia, Spain, New Zealand, Poland, and other countries in varying degree the story is the same. And the United States, not a member of the League but an initiator of the Pact, bars pacifists from becoming citizens.

Do Americans Want A New Party ?

HOWARD Y. WILLIAMS

DO the voters of the United States want a new political party? Have enough divergent groups been aroused to provide a broad basis for a political realignment? Is there sufficient local leadership to organize such a movement? These are the questions I have been asking on speaking and organizing trips which during the last six months have taken me into thirty-five states. I have addressed audiences all the way from the Atlantic to the Pacific seaboards on the need for a new political alignment. One cannot witness the overwhelming response, face the pointed questions, hear the protests against the present situation, and not feel that the time for political revolt is ripe. Some people in this country are excited about what they are going to drink, but more are worried about whether they are going to have jobs, living wages, and enough to eat.

Many of the politicians are themselves disgusted with the old parties. A former Republican governor of one of our New England states, now high in the councils of his party, after relating some of the seamy side of its national activities exclaimed, "We shall never get anywhere until we build up a new party with a passion for service rather than exploitation and profit." One former Democratic mayor of a Middle Western city said, "Politics is bad business. I am leaving it alone. I am going to earn my living and find my happiness some other way." The point is, of course, that politics is one of the forces which if used rightly could make life much happier. The recent sentence to penitentiaries of public officials in Minneapolis, Atlanta, Chicago, New York, and other cities reveals the rottenness to be found in old party systems. Especially in the South where one does not even find the farce of opposition that exists in the North, officials are so corrupt and sell out the people so many times that the latter have become disgusted and great numbers refuse to go to the polls. In Atlanta, for example, with a population of 250,000, only fifteen to eighteen thousand people normally vote. Several people in New Orleans told me that they did not vote at the last city election. "It was a choice between a demagogue and a crook. There was no choice." So at Washington there is a national leadership that is bankrupt of real capacity. In the solution of almost every important problem in the last year, Herbert Hoover and the Republican party have failed us.

It is the knowledge of this situation that is gripping the minds of people throughout the country. Day after day I have proclaimed to middle-class forums, often of 500 people and more, the necessity of breaking away from the Republican and Democratic parties and forming a new political alignment to deal with our problems of unemployment, power control, justice to the workers, farmers, Negroes, and a more radical approach to disarmament and world peace. These audiences of every type have applauded such sentiments with overwhelming enthusiasm. To be sure many members of such groups would desert in the pressure of a hot fight; but the point is that where fear is not present, the conviction is there.

The same response has been true of trade-union groups. I have addressed more than twenty central labor councils during the past six months. The rank and file are vociferous in their reception of the idea of a labor party. Unemployment has taught them its lesson. Trade unionists are learning that they must have a party of their own if this problem is to be solved. Unemployment insurance will never come from the old parties. At Concord, New Hampshire, just before the close of the meeting, an officer of the state federation of labor arose and said, "We shall never progress until we form a party of our own." At Ann Arbor, the presiding officer declared, "I am converted. When are we going to start a labor party here?" At Kansas City, considerable literature was purchased and for an hour after the meeting many of the delegates remained to discuss the problem. At Topeka, a motion was passed asking every member to carry the message back to his local union for consideration and be prepared to report the results at the next meeting of the council. At Seattle and Butte, labor forums showed a similar live interest. At St. Paul, where the Farmer-Labor party is active and the labor forces have for six years elected a city comptroller and three out of six commissioners, delegates were anxious to learn about the possibilities of a national Farmer-Labor party. In New York, Rhode Island, Washington, and other states, local unions are being asked by means of questionnaires to express their convictions on the matter.

THE idea is in the air. Even international officers of unions admit that eventually workers must have their own political party. They always add, of course, that the time is not yet ripe. The tragedy is that they are doing nothing to prepare their members for that eventuality. However, if the sentiment of the rank and file can be stimulated, they will force a change of action on the part of the present

American Federation of Labor leadership, or they will supplant that leadership. The seed is growing.

AMONG unorganized workers a similar reaction appears. There is no question but that if conditions had been a little more severe this winter there would have been open revolt in many places. Employers have taken advantage of the unemployment crisis to hire new workers at lower wages. I found girls working in factories, laundries, and stores in the South for seven and eight dollars a week. In Louisville girls in ten-cent stores get six dollars a week. Negro girls in Kansas City are working for five dollars a week in factories that have never before paid less than ten dollars a week for similar work. I found miners in Colorado getting a net wage of eight to ten dollars a week; and miners in Pennsylvania receiving a cash payment of a dollar or less for two weeks' work, after rent, groceries, and dynamite had been deducted. In the South men are earning ten and twelve dollars a week. These unorganized workers are ready for political revolt. With an eagerness that is almost pathetic they receive the message of a new party that will protect them in their right to organize, and guarantee them social insurance. The workers in Southern textile mills and in Northern and Western coal fields will start the new political movement of the unorganized.

FARMERS constitute another great constituency upon which a new party must depend. It is difficult for them to learn to coöperate. Their isolated life has made them rugged individualists. However, the automobile, the radio and their own agricultural depression have broadened their horizon. The best and largest coöperatives in this country are now being managed by farmers. Even Hoover's Farm Board through its support of coöperatives is indirectly aiding the movement for a new political alignment. One of the leaders of the Farmers' Union declared that it will not be long before state organizations line up behind the movement for a people's party. In states like California, Washington, Montana, North Dakota, Minnesota, and Wisconsin, farmers are often leaders in progressivism. In the past our agriculturists have voted their prejudices but one sees a new day coming.

Progressives in both the Republican and Democratic parties are daily becoming more dissatisfied with their lot. Congressman after Congressman now serving in Washington has confided that he chafes at his present situation. The closed corporation and steam-roller methods of the House are working their own destruction. Decent men will not endure such abuse. Every progressive Congressman feels himself a cipher, impotent to serve under present conditions. If an outstanding third-party leader could be elected to Congress, I believe any number of Representatives would follow his leadership in a revolt against the present organization of that body. Insurgent Senators, although their opportunity for securing results is greater, have voiced their longing for the enthusiasm and thrill that would come from a new creative political movement bent upon working out a social program.

THIS rising tide of sentiment for a new political alignment will manifest itself with certainty in the elections of next November. In Minnesota a third-party governor will very likely be elected in the person of Floyd Olson, now Hennepin County attorney. He almost defeated Governor Christianson in 1924, and with the added reputation he has secured in prosecuting the cases which sent several Minneapolis aldermen to the penitentiary, it is highly probable he will defeat any nominee the Republicans may put against him. Paul Kvale will have no difficulty in being re-elected Farmer-Labor Congressman from the seventh district. Two or three additional Farmer-Labor Congressmen can be elected from Minnesota in the St. Paul, Duluth, and Mankato districts, if strong candidates are nominated and strenuous campaigns conducted.

Dissatisfaction with the present state of affairs has greatly strengthened the Socialist party. Over 6,000 new members have been added to their rolls in the last eighteen months. Many are young people of vision and capacity. Seven additional newspapers have been started this past winter, and all Socialist papers have a larger circulation than they have had for many years. This means that Socialists will conduct vigorous campaigns, especially in cities like Milwaukee, Reading, Los Angeles, and New York. With outside support, house meetings, shop meetings, street meetings, noon-day meetings, hall meetings, the use of the radio, and stirring literature, I believe that at least two Socialist Congressmen will be elected from Milwaukee and New York City districts.

Independent Labor Party movements are springing up all over the country. In Platt, Michigan, such an organization formed in January, elected every Municipal officer in March. In Niagara Falls, Buffalo, New Bedford, and other cities there are similar groups. In New Bedford seven city councilmen have been elected by the Labor Party. Efforts will be made in these districts to elect Congressmen, and if economic depression should be more acute next fall, stranger things could happen than the election of Labor representatives from these districts.

The Non-Partisan League in North Dakota is now more active than it has been for several years. If members of the League do not capture the Republi-

can primaries for Congressional candidates in the first and third districts, independents will be run in the finals and may be elected. In Colorado, where Senator Phipps' term is ending, liberals are awake to the situation and, if both old parties should nominate reactionaries, will put an independent in the field. The same thing is true in Massachusetts in the gubernatorial contest.

Movements such as these point the way to what is happening in America. The League for Independent Political Action, under the leadership of Professor John Dewey, in its efforts to lay the foundations for a new political alignment has had a mass of correspondence pouring in from every state of the Union. Over twenty-five hundred dues-paying members have been secured in a brief campaign of nine months. The League intends coöperating with local groups in every part of the country. National leaders will be sent out to speak, literature will be provided, and stirring posters furnished to stimulate the voters. The members of the League have no illusions about the difficulties of the task. Local leadership is limited. In many communities it is hard to find suitable candidates for office. Only time and training can develop leaders. It may take ten years to build a Labor Party in this country. On the other hand, it may come much sooner than we think. America moves fast when she moves.

In no other country of the world have aroused workers fought injustice in industry so heroically as in America. Nowhere else have strikes been conducted at such odds and at such length as here. Americans when moved by a great cause respond in no ordinary way. Knowledge of present conditions and the spirit of our people lead to the conviction that the birth of a new party is closer at hand than most of us think.

India and the Simon Commission

RICHARD B. GREGG

AFTER years of delay the Simon Commission, appointed by the British Government to investigate conditions in India and make recommendations for the future political status of that much harried land, has finally submitted the first volume of its report. Judging from the comments published in American newspapers early in June, there is considerable misapprehension regarding the Indian situation among members of the Commission. Moreover, much has happened since the report was written.

In the London *Spectator* for May 31st we find a letter from the special correspondent of that journal in Bombay in which he says in part, referring to Mr. Gandhi's movement:

> The Indian commercial and business classes are, to a great and increasing extent, in sympathy with it. It is quite untrue to assert that support for Mr. Gandhi is confined to the intelligentsia, or to the journalists or their dupes. The movement has permeated all classes. There are distinct signs that Mohammedan aloofness is weakening. It would be a great mistake for the Government to count on solid Mohammedan support. The spirit of sacrifice is abroad, and the discipline and devotion of the Satyagrahis have been great, and have produced a profound effect. The most distinguished member of the Liberal Council, a man who hails not from Bombay but from Northern India, told me yesterday that in his opinion it could not be denied that the country was with Mr. Gandhi, and by "the country" he meant something the existence of which is denied in London but which is very much alive in India. He meant the Indian nation, which we have created, and by which we are now faced.

There is other evidence to support this opinion. The continued strength of the boycott indicates Indian commercial support. The New York *World* on June 4th and 5th reported that several thousand Mohammedans in Bombay suddenly came out strongly in favor of Gandhi. They formed a procession a mile long and later at a meeting passed resolutions urging all Moslems to take part in civil resistance and boycott British goods. The way in which this civil resistance is gathering momentum, in spite of the imprisonment of almost all its earlier leaders, shows that it is unquestionably a mass movement. This nationalist movement has the initiative. It calls not for waiting but for action—action in which all Indians can take part. The personality and character of Mahatma Gandhi, the unique power of his method of non-violent resistance, and the ideal of national freedom have unified the nation amazingly.

But the members of the Simon Commission apparently do not believe that India is rapidly uniting, for they describe its diversities and opposition groups in detail and at great length. Their statement will be eagerly received by practically all groups of British opinion, for upon that belief in Indian diversity rest all the hopes of Empire. Empires can exist only when the subject nations are split and divided. Since Britain wants *impera* she hopes that the condition of *divide* exists, and she is very reluctant to believe the contrary. The next six months will be a period on the one hand of testing the depth, unity, and power

of Indian feeling and will, and on the other of educating Britain to the realities of a situation to which she is now blind. It will be a period of suffering for both nations, but the suffering of Britain will last longer.

The Simon Report clearly states that Great Britain, and especially Parliament, has the responsibility of guiding India, and of deciding how much more power, if any, shall be given to Indians to manage their own affairs. Also it emphasizes the policy of "gradualness." All this reveals the underlying assumption of British superiority. British politicians, including the Commission, realize that Indians resent this attitude. They ascribe this resentment to "sensitive pride." But the Indian poet, Rabindranath Tagore, recently told an English audience that "Europe has completely lost her moral prestige in Asia." (See *Manchester Guardian* for May 23rd). If England has lost her moral prestige in India, the attitude of the Simon Commission would not seem conducive to regaining it.

THE first reaction in India to Volume One of the report does not look very favorable for the round table conference scheduled for October. To have such a conference at all, Great Britain must persuade really influential Mohammedans and Hindu liberals and moderates to attend. But they do not seem enthusiastic at present.

The *Christian Science Monitor* of June 10th reports that:

> Indian liberal comment on the Simon Commission report was severely critical. Sir Phiroze Sethna, president of the National Liberal Federation, said that reading between the lines he was tempted to believe that the recommendations still to be made will be such as to give India as little as possible, and to keep Great Britain's hold upon her as long as she can.
>
> Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, member of the Bombay Council, said it was fairly clear that the Commission's recommendations would be of a character which would never satisfy Indian national aspirations.
>
> H. P. Mody, president of the Bombay Mill Owners Association, declared he was certain that the recommendations would have to be of a most advanced character if they were to receive the slightest consideration in the country.

The *Indian Daily Mail* of Bombay, representing liberal and moderate opinion, calls the report "unaspiring" and a failure. The papers of the Congress group carried such headlines as "The Simon Commission Insults India" and "British Domination to continue."

The only Indian who was reported as looking favorably on the report was Mr. Shankat Ali, the pro-British Moslem leader. According to the New York *Times* of June 11th, he said: "I am anxiously awaiting the second part of the report, but in the meantime I am convinced the Commission has stated the Moslem case very sympathetically." Even that approval is limited.

The definite recommendations of the Commission will be out soon after this issue of THE WORLD TOMORROW appears. The general consensus of British journalistic guesses thus far seems to be that only slight and vague additions to Indian political power will be suggested. There are hints that features will be proposed tending to maintain the present communal lines and introduce further factors of divisiveness, such as more power to the separate provinces and some kind of scheme for federalizing the provinces with the Indian States, perhaps so as to have the latter act as a more effective drag on the former. *Divide et impera.*

It seems fairly clear that British concessions will lag far behind Indian desires. Indian moderates and liberals and, I suspect, even the Mohammedans, will be disappointed. I am inclined to believe that there are now relatively few of them who have any faith in British promises or plans. Non-payment of taxes will result in increased British harshness. This in turn will alienate still more Mohammedans and moderates and drive them practically all to Mr. Gandhi's side.

HITHERTO we have heard mostly official British reports about events in India, for newspaper reports are of course all censored. However, from now on more of the Indian side may come out. The *New Statesman* (London) of May 31st reports that Mr. Fenner Brockway read aloud in the House of Commons "a hair-raising report by the President of the Punjab Congress Committee on the brutalities inflicted on the Indian crowd at Peshawar." Naturally, the assembled M. P.'s and journalists refused to believe anything but the official reports. Nevertheless, the world-wide rules of evidence warn us to be cautious about accepting the statements of an interested party. If the British send us their reports and ask us to believe them, we are entitled to ask for the uncensored evidence of the Indian opposition also. As Nietzsche says, too much dignity is an indication of inner fear.

It is not improbable that by autumn Britain may find herself facing a substantially united British India and perhaps even a wobbly condition in some of the Indian States. British unemployment will be steadily mounting. Much of the Indian and British army and government expenses would no longer be paid by Indians. Perhaps there might be dissatisfaction among Indian troops and police. We have yet to realize the power of non-violent resistance.

The Simon Commission Report, as I see it, is nothing more than a symbol of self-justification by the

British people in this crisis of their Empire. No wonder that it is a best seller in London book shops!

To some readers these views of mine may seem mistaken. But they grow out of an extended and recent residence in India much of which was spent in close contact with Gandhi's movement. I have lived with Indians, I have worn their clothes and eaten their food. I have followed their customs in a sincere endeavor to understand their attitudes, beliefs, and character as completely as possible. I was at Gandhi's Ashram for five days just preceding his famous march to the sea. Night after night I heard him telling the members and volunteers all the details of their future discipline and action. No one who has had this experience, who has been enabled as I have, to make careful, first-hand study of the Mahatma's methods and the movement which he is leading, could fail to be convinced that the British have vastly underestimated Gandhi's influence and the forces for unification that today are sweeping India.

Japan's Amazing Record

KIRBY PAGE

OUR experiences in Japan proved to be an appropriate climax to a long journey around the globe. Appreciation of the many superb qualities of the Japanese people has been deepened, and admiration for their notable accomplishments has been kindled. We have also gained a clearer understanding of the titanic difficulties now obstructing the pathway of their national progress.

We were privileged to talk with leaders of many different professions and points of view, including Prince Tokugawa, President of the House of Peers; Prime Minister Hamaguchi; Foreign Minister Baron Shidehara; Home Minister Adachi; Isoo Abe, leader of the Social Democratic Party; K. Hijikata, Governor of the Bank of Japan; K. Matsuoka, Secretary of the General Federation of Labor of Japan; M. Zumoto, Chairman of the International Press Association; Wm. R. Castle, Jr., the American Ambassador; and scores of educators, social workers, and missionaries.

A visit to the home of Viscount Shibusawa proved to be one of the outstanding experiences of the year. The Grand Old Man of Japan is now ninety years of age and has been a participant and spectator during the entire period of Japan's emergence from a feudal society to a modern industrial nation. The Viscount was in a reminiscent mood and related some of his experiences as a boy of fourteen when Commodore Perry knocked at the doors of hermit Japan. Fifty-one years ago he was chairman of the reception committee which welcomed President Grant to Tokyo! For forty-three years he was president of the First Bank of Japan, one of the Big Five. At one time he held office as president, director, or adviser of sixty corporations: banking, railway, shipping, mining, electrical, cotton manufacturing, insurance, etc. He has also been prominently identified with scores of philanthropic and social welfare enterprises.

THE industrial development of Japan during Viscount Shibusawa's lifetime has been unequalled in any other country. After centuries of medieval feudalism, Japan quickly transformed itself into an advanced industrial nation. A few figures will reveal how impressive the economic progress of this people has been. Japan's combined exports and imports during the period 1868-72 averaged 19 million dollars as compared with 181 millions during 1894-98, and over two billions in 1928, an increase of 10,400 per cent. within 60 years. The number of cotton spindles made a thirteen-fold jump from 415 thousand in 189 to 5.5 millions in 1929. The value of raw silk exported mounted from 41 million dollars in 1902 to 372 millions in 1928. The value of manufactured products increased from 685 million dollars in 191 to three and a half billions in 1927. Bank deposits advanced from one billion dollars in 1913 to nearly six billions in 1928. The first railway in Japan was opened in 1872. The number of railway passengers mounted from about 200 millions in 1913 to more than a billion in 1928. The mileage increased from 641 in 1887 to five thousand in 1908 and twelve thousand in 1929. The first Japanese-built steamer of 6,000 tons was launched in 1898; yet by 1920 Japan's merchant fleet of three million tons ranked third among the world powers. The total revenue of the government advanced from 29 million dollars in 1872 to one billion dollars in 1928.

This phenomenal economic progress has been made in the face of formidable obstacles. The country is so mountainous and the weather so adverse that only one-sixth of the land area of Japan is under cultivation. The ratio of population to the amount of arable land is the densest in the world, being three times that of Germany or India and twelve times that of the United States. The per capita wealth of Japan is about one-fourth of that in the United States, and the

per capita income of the former is only one-sixth of the latter. The average farm covers only two and one-half acres, and the crops are constantly imperiled by flood, drought, frost, hail, and typhoon.

Japan's supply of essential raw materials is dangerously inadequate, especially with regard to coal, iron and oil. The estimated coal deposits of the world approximate 8,154 billion tons, of which Japan has nine millions and the United States 4,231 millions, or 470 times as much. Every year Japan spends about 150 million dollars for mineral products in excess of supplies exported. The average value of imported cotton is some 300 million dollars, and of wool about 90 millions. Another 100 millions is spent for imported grains and flours.

Japan was especially hard hit by the world-wide economic depression which followed the World War. Wartime expansion was followed by disastrous deflation. Then in 1923 came the most destructive earthquake known in history. Three-fourths of Tokyo and all of Yokohama were destroyed. Nearly 100,000 people were killed, and the loss of property reached two and one-half billion dollars. With amazing fortitude and untiring zeal the people of the devastated area devoted themselves to the work of reconstruction, and as a result both cities have been almost entirely rebuilt, with impressive civic improvements. This herculean task was successfully completed within seven years in spite of another severe financial depression in 1927. Hats off to such a people!

THE educational and political advance in Japan has been equally remarkable. Not until 1871 was the first Department of Education established; yet so rapid has been the progress of popular education that Japan is now one of the most literate of nations, with 90 per cent. of the children of elementary school age regularly enrolled, as compared with 47 per cent. in 1888. The total enrollment in all schools and colleges is now about 12 millions.

Democracy and representative government are making steady and rapid gains throughout the country. The number of eligible voters has increased from 300,000 in 1890 to 13 millions at present, an advance of 2,500 per cent. within four decades. Sentiment for woman suffrage is growing. A bill granting the municipal vote to women passed the Lower House at the last session but was shelved by the House of Peers. However, predictions are freely made that Japanese women will be given the vote within another decade.

The power of military and naval men in governmental affairs is diminishing. Evidence on this point is found in the fact that the vigorous protests of the naval authorities against the ratification of the London Naval Agreement have apparently been unavailing. We found opinion practically unanimous that the cabinet would win and that Japan would ratify the agreement. We were told that military training is exceedingly unpopular, although as yet there is no effective opposition. The power of public opinion is growing steadily. As the workers become more articulate, their influence will be thrown against autocracy and militarism.

A CLOSE examination of relevant facts and tendencies should be reassuring to those Americans who fear an attack from across the Pacific. I am strongly convinced that Japan has neither the will nor the power to wage war successfully against the United States. To say that Japan is planning an armed attack upon our shores or commerce is to place her leaders in the category of imbeciles or lunatics. Economic ruin would be the inevitable outcome of such a struggle. Consider the facts: Japan's national finances are already in a serious condition and her wealth and income are utterly insufficient to support a prolonged conflict with a great power—and even the wildest optimist does not envisage a speedy Japanese victory. The Japanese navy is far inferior to our own in fighting strength. The outbreak of war would be followed automatically by the cessation of all trade between the two countries and the serious disruption of Japanese commerce with other nations. This would spell catastrophe for Japan. The United States is at the same time her best customer and her primary source of imports. In 1928 we bought goods from her to the value of 413 million dollars, which is practically the equivalent of her sales to all the Orient and five times her exports to the whole of Europe. During that year Japan imported products from the United States to the value of 313 millions—more than twice as much as from India or China, the next ranking countries. War with America would cause the utter collapse of the silk and cotton industries of Japan.

The colossal burdens of a great war would expose Japan to the peril of social revolution. Unemployment is now widespread and tenancy is growing on the farms. "Dangerous thoughts" are already rampant in student and labor circles. The writings of Marx, Lenin, and other revolutionists are selling like hot-cakes. The dumb masses are beginning to find their voices, and unrest is rapidly increasing. The strain of war might easily crack the social structure of Japan.

Furthermore, there is not the slightest need for war between Japan and the United States. There are only three serious issues between the two countries: naval armaments, commercial rivalry, and immigration. The race of naval armaments will cease to be dangerous if the London Naval Agreement is ratified. In China and Manchuria, I had opportunity to study the ques-

tion of economic competition. Everywhere evidence was found of a milder Japanese policy. The old aggressive attitude of the former cabinet is being replaced by a desire to win the friendship of China. Japanese investments in Manchuria now total one billion dollars. Japan is as eager to protect her property as is any other country, but the likelihood of Manchuria being annexed becomes less and less. The population is overwhelmingly Chinese and is becoming more so each year. After twenty-five years of propaganda and subsidies, less than 250,000 Japanese have been persuaded to migrate to Manchuria, whereas the Chinese population now exceeds 28 millions and is increasing at the rate of one million annually. Both in Manchuria and Korea we were impressed with the substantial material progress being made, although the Koreans are bitter and sullen against their conquerors. We were privileged to take luncheon with Viscount Saito, the Governor-General, and found him to be a liberal administrator; but unfortunately his friendly spirit is not reflected by many other Japanese officials. A visit to Harbin enabled me to study the conflict between Russia and China over the Chinese Eastern Railway.

The Japanese people are far from forgetting the insult administered by the United States in 1924 through the method by which we exclude their immigrants. As we were leaving his home, the venerable Viscount Shibusawa said to us that he hoped we would never rest until the humiliating exclusion law has been changed. Dr. Nitobe, formerly Under-Secretary-General of the League of Nations, declared that the exclusion blow changed his whole attitude toward life. He told us he has declined a dozen invitations to lecture in the United States, for he has resolved never to set foot on American soil until this injustice is remedied. How easy it would be to solve the problem by putting Japan on the quota basis. A total of 150 Japanese immigrants per year would not undermine the foundations of our national welfare.

IN Toyko we renewed an old acquaintance with one of the most amazing men of this generation—Toyohiko Kagawa. Beyond doubt he is the outstanding Christian leader of Japan. At the age of 42 he has written some 40 books on economics, socialism, science, religion, fiction, and poetry, one of which went through 180 editions. He has been a vigorous promoter of trade unions and coöperative societies and has encouraged the formation of a proletarian political party. During the past year he has been head of the Social Welfare Bureau of the Tokyo Municipal Government. He organized and has conducted three social settlements in Osaka, Kobe, and Tokyo. By all odds the most popular religious speaker in the country, he can pack any hall and frequently makes four or five addresses per day.

Kagawa's prodigious output has been accomplished in spite of terrible physical handicaps. One of his close friends said to us, "There is not a sound organ in his body." He has tuberculosis; he is blind in one eye and the sight of the other is being destroyed by trachoma, contracted from a beggar with whom he shared his mat; his heart, kidneys, nose and throat are all affected. During the present year his doctor prescribed a month of complete rest as essential to the preservation of his life. Without his permission, friends cancelled all engagements for this period. Reluctantly Kagawa consented—and then dictated three books during the thirty days! A friend told how on one occasion after completing an evangelistic address at 10:30 in the evening, Kagawa went to help the cooks of Tokyo organize a union. Finishing at 2 A.M., he retired for a brief rest and then after early morning devotions, he addressed a 6 A.M. meeting.

His friends sometimes complain that he tackles too many things and is therefore necessarily superficial. Others are dissatisfied with his conservative theology. Some say he is egoistic and inclined to play a lone hand, finding it difficult to coöperate with a group. However serious his faults may be, this son of a concubine, who first attended school from his brother's house with its seven Geisha-concubines and debasing environment, has a record of achievement rarely equalled in any generation. His devotion to the poor is unexcelled. For fourteen years he lived in the slums of Kobe in a single room six by nine feet square. In spite of his ability and earnings, he has always been and still is a poor man, his income being used to support the various causes in which he is interested. Many times he has given his only coat to someone in need.

The Japanese people have serious weaknesses; their government has often pursued an aggressive and belligerent policy in China and Manchuria; their rule of Korea has sometimes been characterized by ruthlessness; jingoes and chauvinists are not unknown in their land; yet the extraordinary social progress made during recent decades could have been achieved only by men and women with exceptional ability, impressive team-play, and amazing fortitude.

A Request

If any of our subscribers or friends have extra copies of our October, 1929, and February, 1930, issues, we shall appreciate it if they will mail them to our office, 52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York City.

The Contribution of the New Immigrants

CONSTANTINE PANUNZIO

ANY discussion of the contribution which Southern and Southeastern Europeans—popularly known as the "new immigrants"—have made to the life of this country must of necessity be general and tentative; and for obvious reasons. These new immigrants began coming to America in appreciable numbers after 1882, and, therefore, have been in this country less than fifty years. During the first decade of this period their number was comparatively small; in fact, even as late as 1920 they constituted less than one-twentieth of our population. Coming, as they do, from a dozen nations[1], they have naturally developed no economic, social, political, or cultural solidarity; even those coming from single nationalities evince no genuine cohesion. Engaged in performing the lowly tasks of our economic life, they have constituted a submerged portion of our population. And, to top it all, they have been constantly under the fire of repeated attacks by certain hostile American groups, so much so that any contribution they might have to make would have been wholly destroyed. Moreover, "contributions" are not made by any group, however important, in a single generation.

Notwithstanding these limitations, certain things are clear regarding the part the newer immigrants have played and are playing in the life drama of this nation. The most obvious—and in some ways the most basic—is the place they have occupied in the recent economic development of the United States. In 1920 the Southern and Southeastern foreign-born residing in this country numbered about five millions, thus constituting less than one-twentieth of the total population.[2] But in the same year they made up nearly one-eighth of all our labor forces.

Nor does that tell the entire story. These new immigrants—engaged as they are almost entirely in the extractive, manufacturing, and mechanical industries—have been performing the fundamental tasks of our industrial life. Laborers, most of whom are of the new immigration, have contributed eighty-five per cent of the labor forces in the slaughtering and meat-packing establishments; seven-tenths in bituminous coal mining; nearly nine-tenths in the woolen mills, and nine-tenths in the cotton mills; nineteen-twentieths in the clothing manufactories; one-half in the shoe factories; four-fifths in furniture making; one-half in the manufacture of collars, cuffs, shirts, and gloves; four-fifths in leather works; nineteen-twentieths in the sugar-making establishments. They have built the highways and railways, mined the ore and forged the steel, loaded and unloaded our ships, and tilled much of our soil.

This contribution gains all the greater relevance when we remember that it has been made in conjunction with the very industries which have given the United States internal prosperity and economic preëminence among the nations. One may visualize the extent to which all this is true by imagining what would happen if, by some magic, a Pied Piper should one of these days lure all the new immigrants—or even a considerable portion of them—back to their original habitats. "Good riddance!" some would no doubt cry. But presently the deadly silence of industrial paralysis would awaken us to a sense of the debt we owe these toilers.

It would, of course, be far from accurate to say that only the presence of these immigrants in our country has made such thriving economic conditions possible. It is quite likely that without any immigrants whatsoever the native population would have so increased as to have produced the same if not even greater results. Moreover, if these particular immigrants had not come, it is probable that others from other countries would have come. But these are hypothetical questions over which we can engender considerable heat and express a variety of opinions, but on which we throw no definite light. Things might have been different, but they are as they are; and the scientist is obliged to weigh the facts: that the new immigrant has become an integral part of our country, and that he has given his labor to the very industries which have given the United States internal prosperity and international economic preëminence.

Looked at from the point of view of the totality of the nation's "good life," however, it may be that this contribution has resulted in more harm than good. The United States has, without doubt, developed too rapidly industrially, and this expansion has given the country a temper of motion and has raised standards which seem at times to be destroying all perspective, all poise, and all sense of values. Economic possessions, economic power, and prestige are our gods. The vast majority of people are concerned primarily with seeking and consuming fodder. If all this is true, it would seem as if the presence of the new immigrant which has so largely contributed to rapid economic development has been an ill rather than a good, except

[1] The principal nationalities are: Armenians, Greeks, Hungarians, Italians, Jugoslavs, Poles, Roumanians, and Russians.

[2] The nationalities furnishing the largest numbers were: Greeks, 175,976; Hungarian, 397,283; Italians, 1,610,113; Jugoslavs, 169,439; Poles, 1,139,979; Roumanians, 102,823; Russians, 1,400,495 (1920 U. S. Census, vol. II, p. 695).

for one thing: the new immigrants are among the most strenuous opponents of this economic-god worship.

On the other hand, if the most distinguishing feature of contemporary life in the United States is that we enjoy a greater per capita wealth than elsewhere, if we here have a wider distribution of economic good, a greater diffusion of general well-being, then it is also true that the new immigrant has had a considerable share in making this possible.

Aside from acting as "hands," new immigrants are coming to occupy an ever increasing place as owners and managers of certain industries and businesses. The Greeks, for example, practically control the restaurants, the lunch-rooms, the confectionery and fruit-stores, the florist shops, and (with the Jews) most of the moving-picture houses in our large cities. Cigaret-making, the fur and sponge industries, fishing and the fish trade are almost entirely in the hands of the Greeks. The Italians have for many years been important elements in fruit raising and in the fruit business on the Pacific Coast; and they practically control the marble works and marble trade throughout the country. Poles and Greeks are occupying an increasingly large place in truck-gardening in the East, and the former have reclaimed many of the abandoned farms of New England. The Greeks are said to do nearly one-third of all the business of the commission markets of Chicago. The Bank of Italy, one of the most important financial units in the United States, is owned and operated chiefly by Italians.

In all of these economic activities the new immigrant is not, of course, contributing anything distinctive. He has been caught in the whirl of economic life in this country and is merely adding momentum to it.

In the various professions the new immigrant is likewise playing a role of constantly increasing importance. A study of the classified directories of the larger cities reveal many names of physicians, lawyers, teachers, engineers, and even clergymen who are clearly of Southern European origin or descent.

However, it is in some of the arts that the new immigrant has made his outstanding contribution—music, sculpture, and painting, particularly. For example, the Poles have contributed such symphony leaders as Leopold Stokowski and Artur Rodzinsky, of the Philadelphia Orchestra, and Thaddeus Wronski of Detroit. The Russians have given us Serge Koussevitzky of the Boston Symphony, Ossip Gabrilowitsch of the Detroit Symphony, and Nikolai Sokoloff of the Cleveland Symphony. Campanini, Serafin, and Toscanini—Italians—have at various times conducted important orchestras. Helena Modjeska, the actress, was a Pole;Eleonora Duse, an Italian. Adelina Patti, Luisa Tetrazzini, Amelita Galli Curci, Enrico Caruso, were all Italians, as are Gigli, Tito Schipa, Titta Ruffo, and Scotti. The Metropolitan Opera House, of New York, is under the management of an Italian. Josef Hofmann and Josef Rubenstein, noted violinists, are Poles; Josef Achron, composer and violinist, is a Russian. Among the outstanding Russian pianists are Sergei Rachmaninoff, Leopold Godowsky, Leo Ornstein, Alexander Siloti. Mischa Elman, Jascha Heifetz, Efrem Zimbalist, Toscha Seidel, are also Russians. Paderewski is a Pole.

A list nearly as impressive could be drawn up for sculpture and painting. In literature, however, the new immigrant has produced nothing very distinctive, largely, I suspect, because literature more than any other art is created only through sympathetic and long-time identification with an environment. The Hungarians have produced several playwrights of local note, the Italians, a few novelists and a poet; but these, like the rest of the new immigrants, have not dwelt long enough on American soil, and have not been sufficiently identified with the people in this country to be able to hold up that profoundly reflective mirror which we call literature.

IN education a number of names come to mind—Suzzalo, Simkhovitch, Pupin, Fagnani, Angelo Patri; but in the main the influence of the new immigrant groups has been negligible. This is due in part to the fact that the educational system in this country is probably one of the most traditional-minded of all our institutions. Administrators, particularly, seem to be fearful of "foreigners." They are willing to employ the foreign-born in the teaching of foreign languages and, to a certain extent, in the teaching of science; but not in social science, education, literature, or in educational administration itself. In these fields the foreigner in general and the new immigrant in particular, is *persona non grata*. It is an unfortunate situation for it is these very fields in which he might, by virtue of his having a wider and different background, render the greatest service to his adopted country. The experience Ludwig Lewisohn went through, and which he recounted in *Up Stream*, is without doubt duplicated every year on the part of many persons of foreign birth. Especially since the World War, intellectual leaders of ability who belong to the new immigrant groups—no matter how capable they are, how thoroughly trained, how completely "assimilated"—have found it increasingly difficult to make their influence felt in our educational life.

In religion, the Southeastern Europeans have made and are making an indirect contribution which may prove to be important. Together with the Irish, they have made possible the growth of the Catholic Church both the Roman and the Greek Orthodox. There are some, no doubt, who will contend that if this be true it is distinctly a *dis*-service that the new immigran

has rendered. But a careful analysis of our religious situation will reveal the fact that the Protestant Church is disintegrating, is fast losing its hold upon the people—as is seen in its resort to advertising, to new emotional and popular appeals, in an effort to hold on. Protestantism has become almost wholly denunciatory, negative, hortatory. Protestant churches have increasingly become dominated by Boards consisting of the wealthy and powerful, whereas, the Catholic Church has remained largely, if not wholly, the church of and for the people. Whatever one may think of the Catholic faith, whether one belongs to it or not—the latter is the case with the present writer—the fact still remains that the Church is here to stay; that it has become one of the most influential institutions in this country; and that it is largely, though indirectly, a new-immigrant institution.

There is one contribution the new immigrant has made which is seldom mentioned and rarely understood. I refer to the way he is upholding the principles of liberty, fraternity, and equality—the very principles that gave this nation birth. The new immigrant has come to the United States at a time when these principles are being forgotten and actually repudiated. Having achieved economic success, this nation is now bending every effort to entrench itself in that success, to gain security in economic possession, forgetting, the while, the ideals that gave it being.

There is nothing more arresting to the new immigrant, nothing that bewilders and amazes him more than to observe this fact. With the incredulousness of a child he looks around, scarcely believing his eyes or ears. But tenaciously he holds on to the original American ideals. Woodrow Wilson put words into the mouths of newly naturalized citizens that have become dear to all immigrants:

> "We are going to America," he made the immigrant say, "not only to earn a living, not only to seek the things which it was more difficult to obtain where we were born, but to help forward the great enterprises of the human spirit—to let men know that everywhere in the world there are men who will cross strange oceans and go where a speech is spoken which is alien to them if they can but satisfy their quest for what their spirits crave; knowing that, whatever the speech, there is but one longing and utterance of the human heart, and that is for liberty and justice."

When the day comes that we shall be able to measure in its totality all that the new immigrant has brought to these shores, it may be that we shall look upon this as the greatest contribution he has made. He has come from countries which in recent decades have not enjoyed true freedom. He comes here not merely to win a morsel of bread by the sweat of his toil: he comes also to gain for himself and his children that greater bread for which all ages and all men have hungered—human freedom. In his search for this greater bread he may at times appear lawless. But it is not lawlessness that drives his spirit; it is, rather, the great hunger of the human spirit. Harold Laski has recently written about the dangers of obedience. Perhaps the new immigrant will have made his greatest contribution in this: that by the very contrast and difference in life and thought which he has presented, he has afforded his country of adoption an opportunity for testing its own soul and for discovering what is genuinely true and enduring.

Within A Walled Garden

WITHIN a walled garden
Where shadows streamed,
There the philosopher
Sat and dreamed,

Combing his thin beard
With hands long-nailed.
In the thorny hedge
A shrike impaled

One fluttering sparrow
On a curved spine,
And the bird's hot blood
Welled like wine.

"And this is God,"
Said he, and stirred,
But he set no hand
To the broken bird.

AUDREY WURDEMANN

All Time Is Now

THE sky is a fresh blue flower, a bell tilted over
Us all. Come birds, let us sit together and sing
Among the apples and hear the pleasant ping
Of beak-pierced apple skins. Come bees, to clover!
Swing sideways on the breeze, and let us discover
New honied pastures down the hill and bring
Our burglaries to some old willow-king;
Droning of golden rumors, let us hover
Drowsy with the sun. . . . What is there
To look at but the flowers? What to learn
But song-talk of the birds? What to earn
But apples and honey? To breathe—this blue-bright air?
The flushed earth whispers to the grass, the bough
Shakes silver words from the leaves, all time is now.

RUTH LANGLAND HOLBERG

Not in the Headlines

Our National Wealth

The National Industrial Conference Board has estimated that the wealth of the United States aggregates $360,100,000,000 or about $3,000 per capita.

Civilized Sweden

The Swedish Parliament, according to *Pax,* organ of the Women's International League, has voted 32,000 kroner for national peace work, of which 15,000 is to go to the Peace Information Bureau and the rest to be divided among the peace societies.

Water Babies and Air Babies

Foreseeing a time when babies will be born in submarines underneath the surface of the sea and in aircraft above the clouds, Chairman Johnson of the House Immigration Committee has introduced a bill to provide that an immigrant born in either craft shall have the nationality of his father.

Quakers and the Color Bar

At a recent meeting of the Society of Friends in London, action was taken to eliminate the color bar. A resolution was unanimously passed to form a joint council of white and colored people in order to encourage personal contacts, to spread information, and to make known in Great Britain the achievements of Negroes.

German Women Enter Politics

Thirty-four women are now members of the German Reichstag. They include 14 teachers, one doctor, several writers and journalists, a number of trade union secretaries, clerks, manual workers and housewives. These women belong to six of the ten parties represented in the Reichstag.

Bahai Temple

An American Bahai temple is to be erected at Wilmette, Illinois. It will be the first edifice in this country dedicated to the religious movement founded in Persia by Baha'u'llah seventy years ago. Contributions toward the building fund have been sent by Bahais in all parts of the world. The architectural design of the temple will emphasize the international and inter-racial character of the movement, with the sacred symbols of all great religions of the East and West incorporated into the decorative treatment of its external surface.

Revolutionist Casualties

During the last five years 328,639 revolutionists were killed in demonstrations, uprisings, and skirmishes in various parts of the world, according to statistics issued by the International Society for the Aid of Political Prisoners Abroad. Of these nearly 200,000 were killed in China alone. Half a million revolutionists were arrested during this same period in different countries. Italy led in the number of arrests with 107,156; Poland was second with 24,921. More persons were arrested in the United States than in Germany, 18,603 being imprisoned in this country and 11,433 in Germany.

Crime News to Go

Excelsior, one of Mexico City's daily newspapers, has announced that it will attempt to eliminate all crime news from its columns. In a statement commending the paper for this move, President Ortiz Rubio declared: "It would be desirable if all Mexico's press would second the noble effort of *Excelsior.*"

Something New in Courts

A Comradely Court has been established in Moscow where all private complaints are discussed by voluntary judges and assistants who endeavor to find the facts without legal red tape. The court has the power to impose fines up to ten rubles, or to punish by oral censure accompanied by admission of wrong, or by censure printed in the newspapers.

Public Ownership Pays

Railroad, telegraph, and water power enterprises in Sweden which are publicly owned showed increased profits for the year 1929. The net income of the Telegraph Board was $6,137,200 as against $5,384,120 in 1928. The net profits of the water power, railway, and post office departments showed similar increases of more than a million dollars each over the preceding year.

Negroes Ruled Out of Primaries

An appeal to the Supreme Court of Arkansas by Negro members of the Democratic Party in Little Rock, who asserted that their exclusion from the primaries last fall was a violation of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments of the Constitution of the United States, has been denied. The Court declared that the exclusion of Negroes was a party rule which does not concern the state.

Hindu Worker Wins Right to Stay

Mohib Alli, one of twelve Hindu workers who were arrested last year in Paterson, N. J., as a result of their labor activities, has won his right to remain in the United States. The Government sought to deport all the men on the ground that they had overstayed the period of their temporary permits of admission to this country. Alli was able to prove that he entered the country prior to 1924 when the law governing the temporary permits was not in effect.

Speaking of Colored People—

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has issued a list of epithets to which colored people object. They include such words as "darkey," "pickaninny," and "nigger." They also regard the term "Negress" as objectionable because in the minds of many people it refers to colored girls and women on the auction block in slavery days. The approved terms are "Negro," spelled with a capital "N" to designate the race, and the adjective "colored" as applied to child or man or woman. "Mulatto," "quadroon," and "octoroon" are also approved where it is desirable from the scientific standpoint to designate the degree of race mingling.

A Puritan Revolutionist

*The Story of Scott Nearing**

THE crop of native rebels produced in America has in these later years been extraordinarily meager for a land born in revolution and nurtured in the pioneer tradition. Our outstanding revolutionary figures have for the most part been foreign-born or once removed from it. They have led and expressed the disillusioned who had sought a land of freedom.

The opportunity to get on in a new land where classes are fluid, has put a premium on revolutionary thought and action. But there have always been native sons to rise in each generation to voice the old revolt against privilege and power. Scott Nearing is not merely one of them. He is doubtless the best known of them, both at home and abroad. His books and articles on American capitalism are accepted in radical circles throughout the world as the factual interpretation of our economic life, side by side with Upton Sinclair's propaganda novels exposing the American ruling class .

Like Sinclair, Nearing stands as a figure above parties and movements, though both men have worn party labels. Nearing as a revolutionary economist is no spokesman for a movement. He has never worked in harness. He has no mind for politics. He never led a strike, never walked a picket-line, never served a term in prison. He has met the enemy chiefly in debate and by the printed word. Yet his reputation is that usually attached to men who suffer martyrdom for the cause of labor. His position and his large following have been won not in the practical struggles of labor but by a force of character and purpose evident in his writing and his speaking, and advertised by the attacks upon him. That character arouses in his hearers and readers a sense of selfless loyalty to his cause—the destruction of capitalism, the triumph of the workers' revolution. With it is mixed a quality, rare in revolutionary leaders but always inspiring, a hard Puritan sense of duty and self-denial.

Like most of us he is full of contradictions, but in him they are sharper, more apparent. Scott Nearing is at once a Puritan and a revolutionist. He is essentially a religious man, with a mystic's cosmic sense of destiny and a believer in a god. Yet he is a Communist—a Communist with the spirit of an individualist anarchist. A lone man, he voices the multitude's hopes. A leader, he is too individualistic to work with organizations. Yet he predicates his every hope on organized effort. A highly emotional spirit, yet he aspires to scientific objectivity. A pacifist at heart, he regretfully accepts violent revolution as the effective means to deliverance from capitalism. Nearing is apparently so little introspective as to be unaware of these and other contradictions which give an appearance of inconsistency to a basically unified life. His mental and emotional compartments simply don't mix.

And now at 47 he adds to the confusion by concluding that he is getting too old to contribute longer to directing the policy of organized struggle. In a recent letter of resignation, quitting all the organizations with which he has been identified, he said:

> Long ago I sensed the danger of old men in power. Forward-looking movements need young blood. This is particularly true of the revolutionary movement. I have always planned to get out of the way before I began to hold up the procession. Tentatively I fixed on 25 years as the maximum of time that a man could usefully spend in the direction of public policy. I have finished my quarter century. I am resigning all my directorships and committee positions. Henceforth I shall not accept such offices. The determination of policy belongs in the hands of younger men and women.

FROM what origins and by what route has this apparently hard, simple Puritan come to these complex contradictions, unified though they are by an underlying purpose?

Scott Nearing came from a ruling-class home, as he would call it, in a Pennsylvania company town. His grandfather, who managed the coal mines, was known as Czar Nearing, a paternal and benevolent despot. Scott's father ran grandfather's company store. The oldest of six children, Scott was raised under the dominant influence not of his parents but of a grandfather whose word was law, who tolerated no unions, who controlled schools, churches, homes, jobs. The boy worked in his father's store. He tried manual labor of all sorts after school and in school vacations. He read hungrily. He early learned hard work and the struggles of common men. There were strikes but, opposed by the Czar, they meant little to young Scott.

Off to Philadelphia for high school, he became at once interested in debating, which has remained his life-long field of battle. The first political movement to grip him was the fight against the trusts, then in full swing. In those years of growing independence the enemy must have had to him some unconscious identification with Czar Nearing. Grandpa was

* One of a series of sketches of pathfinders to a new society, published anonymously to permit greater frankness. Reproduction limited to 300 words.

agnostic, if not atheist. Scott became religious. He joined the Baptist Temple, then under the leadership of an energetic man who combined with his church a school and a hospital. The boy went to Christian Endeavor and Sunday school with fervor. In 1905 when he was at the University of Pennsylvania, still a devout church-goer, the Baptist preacher, a political reform leader, was bought off by a contribution to his hospital. Scott got out of the church in disgust and never went back—nor to any other. He was through with organized religion although he hung on to a nominal Christianity until the World War. The treason of Christians to Jesus finished that.

In the University of Pennsylvania young Nearing continued his debating, specializing on anti-trust issues and preparing, as he fully expected, to be a lawyer. One year of the course, however, convinced him it was not to his taste and he went over to economics in the Wharton School, teaching and studying at the same time. Here he came under the influence of Simon N. Patten, the most daring intellect he had ever met, a man to whom nothing was sacred, who demolished shams and pretence, who penetrated to the core of things, and who without being a revolutionist had a revolutionary mind.

From studying, debating, and teaching, Nearing on his graduation turned to the practical job of fighting child labor. As secretary of the Pennsylvania Child Labor Committee, he put in three years on the job—one year at it exclusively, the others in combination with teaching, both at Temple University and at the Wharton School.

FROM then on for nine years he led an academic life at the Wharton School, teaching also on the side at the Philadelphia School for Social Work, at Swarthmore and, during the summer, at Chautauqua. Always he was the propagandist, the fighter against trusts and big business. Always he was for the underdog and against the upper. Serious, determined, he had no conscious revolutionary philosophy or connections.

He stirred his students by his earnestness, his dramatic and forceful simplicity. He was popular, and he was loved and hated like all men of pronounced convictions and uncompromising statement. He says he presented the facts and let his students make up their own minds—but I am skeptical of Scott's ever having been dispassionate.

With a little group of teachers at the Wharton School he was active in Philadelphia political reform movements, then dominated by the crusading Philadelphia *North American* under Van Valkenberg. Scott Nearing, unlike most of his associates, disliked and opposed both Roosevelt and Wilson. In the three-sided campaign of 1912, he voted for Debs, though he did not join the Socialist Party until the War. For ten years he spent his summers at the single tax colony at Arden, Delaware, but he never proclaimed himself a single-taxer. His was revolt against the existing system of unearned wealth, without any formulated political or economic program to abolish it.

His activities, of course, aroused business interests. Joseph R. Grundy, then as now boss of Pennsylvania industry, and chief defender of child labor, challenged the Wharton School in 1912 on the issue of Nearing's activities, threatening to get the legislature to cut its appropriation if he did not quit. Nearing's answer was characteristic. He went out on a speaking tour in the state for two weeks, sending to the press and to graduates copies of his attacks on big business, child labor and industrial slavery. Grundy raged but achieved nothing. Indeed within two years Nearing, supported by a strong group in the faculty and by the two crusading Philadelphia newspapers, was made an assistant professor in 1914 after serving eight years as an instructor. He then had eleven men under him in the department, and for one year directed most of its administrative work.

But his victory was short-lived. In June, 1915, he was suddenly dismissed without warning after the school had closed, so that there could be no protest by students or faculty. Grundy had finally sworn that if Nearing remained the state appropriations would be held up. George Wharton Pepper, member of the Board of Trustees, did Grundy's bidding and had Nearing fired.

AT once Scott Nearing became a national figure. His case, among the first dismissals for reform activity against big business, aroused protest in the press, in academic circles, and among men and women in public life everywhere. A vigorous campaign for his re-instatement was organized. It continued without let-up until November. Professors Lightner, Witmer, and F. E. Shelly, totally disagreeing with Nearing's views and activities, led the fight for academic freedom. Witmer later wrote a book on the case. The fight was lost; Grundy and Pepper triumphed. Simon N. Patten too, distinguished by years of service and about to retire, was likewise dismissed a year later, a sacrifice to big business. The insurgent group was broken and they all gradually left the school. Nearing says his best education was the five-year fight his bunch put up against the trustees.

He stayed around Philadelphia some months finishing a book or two. He had published first in 1911 his *Social Adjustments* and in 1915 three books: *Wages and the Cost of Living, Income,* and *Anthracite Coal.* He accepted an appointment as Dean of the College of Arts of the municipal University of Toledo, an appointment secured by virtue of the fact that the

board was composed of six trade unionists and five business men. He held that job just a little over a year, when his pacifist stand in the War forced him out. He had toured the country for the Union Against Militarism before the United States entered the War, speaking to huge audiences with a team including James Maurer, John Haynes Holmes, Rabbi Stephen Wise, and Max Eastman. His home in Toledo was searched by federal agents, the first domiciliary raid in the War. He was too hot a potato for a municipal university to hold.

That was Nearing's last teaching job in a "respectable" institution of learning. His friends tried to get him appointments elsewhere, without success. And yet he was regarded as a teacher of the first rank—but not for students from safe and sane homes.

NEARING plunged into the anti-war campaign, first, as a speaker for the People's Council, then as its chairman, elected at the memorable convention in Chicago which was broken up by state troops whom the governor sent in to overcome the treason of Mayor Thompson in permitting it to meet. He joined the Socialist Party and became a member of the faculty of the Rand School in New York. He also took an active part in the Fellowship of Reconciliation, radical religious fraternity of conscientious objectors, Quakers, and Protestant followers of the ethics of Jesus.

With amazing efficiency for a man who detested office routine, he directed the work of the People's Council. He spoke and wrote ceaselessly against the War. For writing a booklet *The Great Madness,* published by the American Socialist Society, he was indicted under the espionage act. Brought to trial in 1919 after the War was over he was acquitted by a jury to which he lectured on the War as to a class in college. The Society, which could not lecture, was however, convicted and fined for publishing the book on which Nearing was acquitted!

Nearing's ardent sympathy with the Russian revolution had been intensified by a visit to Soviet Russia in 1925, a trip in which he made a study of the educational system, publishing the first book in English on it. His revolutionary outlook had led him to apply for admission to the Communist Party, but his admission was held up for over a year because the leaders felt that his previous pacifism and strong individualistic convictions unfitted him to subscribe wholeheartedly to Party principles or to work in Party harness. He was finally admitted in 1926 and remained a member three years, longer than most of his friends expected. He resigned because of the refusal of the Party authorities in Moscow to approve a manuscript on imperialism which he had submitted to a Party publishing house. To him it was more important to publish his work than submit to a Party decision with which he disagreed.

HIS production of books since 1920 has been phenomenal: *The American Empire,* 1920; *The British General Strike* in the same year, after a visit to England; pamphlets on workers' movements in France and Germany; *The Next Step,* a sketch of future society which might well have been called the "Last Step," syndicalist rather than Communist in thesis; *Where Is Civilization Going?,* an excursion into faith; *Dollar Diplomacy,* with Joseph Freeman, a survey of American foreign investments; *Whither China,* 1928, after a trip there; *Black America,* 1929, a vivid picture of the industrial life of the American Negro, and *The Twilight of Empire,* 1930, his latest book, which had caused his resignation from the Communist Party.

Scott's future labors in research and writing, for which his resignation from all organized activity prepared the way, are apparently to be even more prodigious. He has sketched a lengthy series of books interpreting the future growth of a world society. It

From an etching by Bernard Sanders

Scott Nearing

is to be a synthesis of all his thinking and study on economics and social reorganization.

Despite these many volumes Nearing's income from his books is negligible. They represent on the whole an investment of the surplus he saves from his lectures and debates above his meager living expenses.

He does a hard season's work, October to May yearly, on the road lecturing and debating. He arranges his own dates. He meets working-class and middle-class audiences in forums and societies. His frequent debates attract great audiences, for he is one of the most forceful and skillful men on the platform, winning frequently by hammering out hard, black-and-white simplifications of his case. Nearly devoid of humor, anecdote or ridicule, he is more than a match for most of his opponents by the force of his utterance and unfailing adherence to his thesis. His speeches and debates, simple as they appear, are prepared with scrupulous care and delivered with a dogmatic assurance—usually irritating to those who disagree with him and by them often labelled fanatical.

SUCH is the picture of the external man in action and the road by which he has traveled to his present position as our leading radical economist. Behind his activity lies a curious combination of driving motives, moods, and habits of life which must be understood in order to see the mainsprings of his life and power.

Scott Nearing is essentially a religious man. He lives by faith—faith not only in the future freedom of mankind but in a cosmic order over and above directed human effort. Indeed, his social philosophy flows from his religion. He believes, rather naively it seems to a non-mystic, in a world behind the appearance of reality. The real world is yet unknown. He is eager to explore. He has approached it via spiritualism. He follows Sir Oliver Lodge's excursions into the other world. He accepts the evidence of communication with the dead. In the real world there is no death; we merely go on. He sees a god as the form of a planned universe. The human race is working out its destiny in a prescribed pattern, not a destiny of arrival at some final social state but a destiny of continuing greater growth and fulfillment, to be tested always by the opportunities it gives to release the creative power of individuals. To this end the environment must change that man may evolve. Social revolution alone can change it.

For a Communist all this is a large order! The orthodox Communist is first a materialist; he accepts the natural world as the only reality. He asks scientifically what, how, why? Nearing is philosophically an idealist; he begins with the cosmos, the unseen world, and accepts the material world only as an aspect of the greater. His is essentially the unscientific, mystical approach. He is a man of feeling, not a scientist. His thinking is increasingly cosmic, synthetic. Yet this religious approach to life can hardly be detected in his debates, his speaking, and writing. It is only the overtone, the large outlines that reveal the mystical aspect of his nature.

His books, objective as they are, revealing little of his personal views, are nevertheless charged with emotion. This emotional power is responsible for his extravagant statements in speech, often so sweeping as to be amusing. He will qualify them at once on being challenged without apparently even sensing the contradiction. His fundamental honesty is convincing even when he takes two opposed positions on the same subject in a half hour, as his friends have often heard him do.

Nearing never plays to the galleries nor talks for publicity. For a man so well-known, he gets remarkably little newspaper attention. He scorns it anyhow, refusing even to talk to the capitalist press. His natural approach to his public is from teacher to student.

HIS personal life, unlike that of many radicals, squares in its main outlines with his ideas. He has disciplined himself to it. Duty is the first law of this Puritan—a law to keep him on his set path and to resist the lure of hidden and feared sensualities. He has no little vices. He does not smoke, drink, swear. He does not even indulge in social frivolities. He lives simply because it satisfies him more to share the way of life lived by those whose bondage he so deeply feels. And I suppose that a little self-mortification compensates for a strong man's sense of potential sin.

Nearing's Puritan self-denial in the joy of doing his duty leads him to shun all bourgeoise extravagances. He usually dresses like a farmer—cap, unpressed old clothes, colored shirt, heavy boots. He scorns taxis, even when street cars are inconvenient. He long resisted getting even a second-hand Ford car for his family and, after he got it, took pride in the fact that it was old and rusty.

Though he thinks he is retired from active struggle after twenty-five years of it, he cannot help continuing his essential drive. He will continue to hurl his philippics against the kings of capital. He will continue research in the libraries, teaching from the platform, writing and debating until a real old age—not 47—tames his fierce energies. For thousands in the radical movement, whatever their politics, he will continue to be an inspiration as a teacher, not through his propaganda so much as through rare qualities of rigid honesty, a lovable selflessness, and the essential integrity of the contradictory virtues that go to make up his character.

Religion and Psychology*

HUGH HARTSHORNE

RELIGION as experience is the chief subject matter of psychology. Psychology is the formulation of religious experience. Religion, when it is self-conscious, is the application of psychology to the improvement of life and the conservation of its values. I do not refer to the fact that some have made a religion of their psychology, or that others have confused the experience of religion with the study of religion. Rather do these truisms emphasize the tendency in psychology to take as the object of investigation the whole self in dynamic relation to its whole environment, and the tendency in religion to make use of the knowledge of psychology in the control of those experiences by which the growth and enrichment of personality are effected.

These are days of self-knowledge. Naiveté in religion as in art or business is an anachronism. The most intimate experiences are subjects for research and discussion. What men once took for granted, they now are impelled to understand. Such eagerness for knowledge creates an inexhaustible market for books about religion, for books which purport to explain to the reader how the wheels of his soul go round and gear in to the wheels of the universe. It has become popular for "psychologists" to play around with "religion," and to seek to classify its supposed manifestations within the categories of psychiatry. Learned terms, obscure references, sexual allusions, all conspire to function as occult attractions to the unwary reader, who sees himself reflected in the "cases" and generalizations of this pseudo-science. It is not of this superficial movement I wish to speak, indicative though it is of a deep and growing concern for those interests which at one time were called spiritual. There is a widespread desire to know the nature and meaning of life—a desire which is choked at the very start by undigested rumors, spread by psychologists, as to how even such desires are abortive attempts of the self to throw off the shackles of dead superstitutions and infantile attachments and dependencies.

Let us admit once and for all that religion, like politics, law, and medicine, is handicapped by the lag and drag of ancient mores. Considering that religion has to do with more far-reaching possibilities and wider environment than these other interests, it is surprising that it is so rapidly divesting itself of superstitions which our ancestors embodied in their faith. We do not find doctors less concerned with health, however, because they are gradually substituting science for magic in the treatment of disease. There are a few cranks who apparently do not know that magic in medicine is outmoded and who continue to regard all doctors as quacks. Science has brought to health immeasurable gains, and health continues as one of the great human interests. So religion profits by new knowledge, which sweeps it clean of hampering dogmas and magical ceremonies, opening up vistas of growth which were undreamed of by those who lacked the insight made possible by psychology. We need not be too much annoyed, therefore, if a few outspoken critics have been aware of these new movements of thought and practice.

Religion, I have said, is bringing to psychology new and more fundamental problems; psychology is bringing to religion new understanding and new tools. Let us note some of these developments, and ask their significance.

While it is true that textbooks in psychology have usually ignored religion, they have not altogether ignored the facts of experience which constitute religion, and increasingly these facts are attracting the attention of psychologists. Religion has concerned itself with the desire for salvation; the sense of guilt and the need for forgiveness; the experience of temptation; conscience; the quest for ideals; the Kingdom of God; release from bondage; other worldliness; peace; joy; the brotherhood of man. Possibly because traditional religious practices are failing to provide for these interests or possibly for other reasons, it is these very matters that one now comes upon in the discussions and work of psychologists. To be sure, a different terminology is used, and we find that men seek certainty when security is not to be had; that old customs are passed on unconsciously and emerge as taboos, the violation of which is destructive of inner harmony; that man lives by the values he cherishes, resorts to fantasy when things go wrong, desires the companionship and response of his fellows, is capable of sublime devotion to great causes, and seeks to make terms with ultimate reality. These are the age-old problems of religion. They are the problem of the growing self in a world of selves which carries both a biological and a social heritage from generation to generation. They take Protean forms, emerging now as a social gospel, now as the drama of salvation, now as a theocracy or an ecclesiastical machine, now as a radical prophetic movement, now as evangelical fervor, now as hate and war, now as love and peace, now as rigid intellec-

* One of a series of six articles on Religion and Contemporary Thought. Reproduction limited to 300 words.

tual criticism and objective appraisals of human history and values. Caught in the whirl of these great surges of emotion and thought, the individual struggles for self-realization. Failing in his quest or overwhelmed by the hopelessness of his estate, he once sought help from priest or pastor. Now he turns to the physician and the psychologist.

LET us consider briefly, then, the contribution which psychology is making to religion.

In the first place psychology is disentangling from folk-lore and metaphysics the fundamental needs of man and is disclosing their origin in the experience of the race and of the individual. Troubles, dissatisfactions, failures, unruly desires, once attributed to deities good and bad, are now seen in the light of their natural history, thus relieving the simple gods of antiquity of embarrassing responsibilities. Present-day human nature has come to be regarded in its social and biological setting. Its sins are viewed objectively, as one would analyze the conduct of ants, and the categories which are used in the discussion of behavior are the categories of description and natural causation rather than of evaluation or supernatural explanation. On the other hand, this objective approach to the status, causes, and trends of conduct has placed the potentialities of man on a sure foundation of observed fact rather than on the highly unstable basis of theological speculation. Original nature appears neither good nor evil to psychology, but pregnant with possibilities of high achievement.

THE service thus rendered to religion by psychology in freeing human nature from the handicaps of arbitrary predestination or of predetermined stereotypes of conduct as embodied in the religious heritage is beyond calculation. It has paved the way for the most fruitful theological thinking that has occurred in generations—a movement which is leading toward a complete reorganization of the thought content of religion.

But of equal significance is the service of psychology in bringing the processes of religious development under control. The practices of many forms of religion have been dictated in the past, like the practices of medicine, by established conventions and needs which date back to pre-scientific eras. Whatever the physician may have done or may still do, the powers making for health within the patient must do the healing, and it is to assist these powers that the physician increasingly devotes his art. So the minister and teacher is discovering by psychological methods the conditions under which human personality may realize its potentialities.

The two aspects of religious development that are most notably affected by growing psychological insight are the teaching of children and the treatment of aberrant adults. Both types of work have been until recently the peculiar field of professional religious service. Religion has to do essentially with the personal welfare of individuals. It has ministered to individual need in a great variety of ways. It is no discredit to its purpose if some of these ways are being outgrown and replaced because of the new knowledge of the laws of mental health and growth which psychology is revealing.

AS an example of these changing views and methods let us take the way in which ideals and values are being dealt with. Much recent literature has pictured religion as a way of escape from reality. It is only natural that psychiatrists should thus view it since persons who use religion in this manner are often in need of medical assistance. Wider knowledge of religious experience, however, particularly as it has been analyzed by psychologists whose interests are concentrated upon the study of normal persons, indicates that religion, far from being an escape from reality, is characteristically a quest for reality. Trouble arises when the reality sought is felt to be a realm of ideas and values separated from the so-called realities of everyday life, and when the sense of reality is achieved in isolation from the experiences of other persons. But such phenomena are perversions of normal religious experience, which is essentially social in origin and outlook.

Naturally, when some sort of escape is demanded because of personal inadequacies of one sort or another, one turns to any realm of fancy that may be available, and it is true that traditional religious ideas furnish a ready-made imaginary world to which the defeated soul may resort for consolation. That such ideas are not more widely used in this way is a tribute to the general wholesomeness of normal religious experience which turns the thoughts outward rather than inward and encourages service rather than contemplation. The problem is well recognized among religious educators. But far from abandoning ideals or the practice of worship—which some psychiatrists would seem to regard as the only course leading to sanity—they are experimenting with the problem of how ideals grow, how they may be appraised, how they may be made to function as policies and programs of social action, how they may serve as highways to a reality which is susceptible of constant transformation and growth in proportion as men coöperate intelligently in the interest of those future possibilities which may be discovered as inherent in the present.

Worship is today coming to be regarded as the technique by which ideals are revived and ap-

praised not in terms of their orthodoxy, their antiquity, or their value for one's own peace of mind, but rather in terms of their consonance with those great objectives and principles that are emerging as the permanent bases of social cohesion and creativity. The content of worship is present reality and its possibilities, not a world of fantasy which may be substituted for reality in moments of leisure. Religion, as the art of living, leans on worship for the standards and ideals which it embodies and on psychology and other social sciences for the methods by which ideals are to be embodied in practice.

Dealt with in this way, from earliest childhood, ideals become tools of social adjustment and reconstruction, and those abnormalities of adult life which are associated with reversion to "childish" modes of dealing with stubborn facts tend to disappear, since with proper training the experience to which one could thus revert would be a religion of conflict and achievement rather than a religion of dependence and escape. Childhood is normally out-reaching, discovering, objective, creating, increasingly independent and free. It is the interest of an education informed by psychology to preserve these modes of approach to life and to protect childhood from experiences of authority and dogma by which capacities for growth are blocked and distorted.

Similarly, in dealing with adults, religion is learning from psychology how to re-educate the badly trained individual. Many churches include on their staffs physicians and psychologists who are expert in such treatment. This is a movement which is bound to grow rapidly as its possibilities are realized. The mental hygiene clinic is a natural field of church work and replaces the empirical and often blundering procedures of pastors untrained in the method of psychological and medical science. To the criticism that such work often ignores religion, it may properly be replied that the reconstruction of personality *is* religion, and that the so-called religion which is ignored ought to be ignored because of its denial of the essential foundations of social health.

THERE remains nevertheless the caution that, as frequently practiced, the work of guidance clinics is psychologically as well as religiously imperfect and inadequate at certain well-defined points. In attempting to help individuals recover from the results of faulty education in religion, it often throws out the child with the bath, neglecting in its processes of cure those very experiences which alone can lead the lost soul to find itself. The watchwords of treatment are adjustment, integration, harmony, satisfaction. But a life which is big enough for the clashes and conflicts of the real world must often be unadjusted, unintegrated, shaken and discontented. Indeed, from the standpoint of religion, these are normal experiences without which no one can keep abreast of a rapidly changing world. How to *use* these experiences rather than how to escape them belongs to the technique of religion. Those who are most critical of religion as escape, it may be noted, are often themselves equally guilty of this very procedure in advocating attitudes and ways of life which deliberately avoid facing the practical issues of creative social experience. One escape is avoided by means of another. The troubled ostrich hides his head and is at peace. Undisturbed harmony is death.

The disinterestedness of genuine religion is more than a gesture of resignation. It is a by-product of dynamic idealism. The self is lost—forgotten, better—in coöperative causes, the demands of which supersede the desire for complacency and peace which characterizes all animal life. The integration of religion is never long possessed, for it gives way constantly before the fresh differentiations of vital living in a real world of change and adventure, and must be constantly recovered through experiences of worship by which the buffeted and shattered self is reorganized on ever higher levels of insight and power.

To pschology religion must look for the better understanding and control of these experiences of recovery, and it is poor psychology which fails to recognize their existence or value, no matter what may be the changing metaphysical interpretations and references assigned to them by our shifting philosophies. "Our little systems have their day, they have their day and cease to be"; but the aspiration, the devoted sacrifice, the triumphant faith of religion move on to new problems and new formulations.

Words for an Epitaph

WHEN I am dead if you would speak of me
Tell anything you choose. I shall not care;
I shall be occupied with mystery,
And mundane things indeed will be elsewhere.
Tell that my ears were long and I was vain,
Tell that my feet were clay, my tongue a knife,
Tell that I was a harbinger of pain,
And wreckage strewed the pathway of my life.

Tell all of these. Tell infinitely more,
But when the blotted, smudgy sum is told,
Remember one who always took my side
No matter what the motley coat I wore.
He only found a trace of hidden gold:
For him I would have been thrice crucified.

EARL D. TODD

The Book End

The World Tomorrow reviews only books which it believes, after critical evaluation, to be helpful and interesting. On rare occasions it includes unfavorable comment on a popular volume which seems sufficiently misleading to render adverse criticism imperative.

American Prisons: From the Inside

AS a standard compendium of information on American penal and reformatory institutions *The Handbook of American Prisons* is unequalled. It appears annually, is based on first-hand information, is well organized and conveniently presented. The volume for 1929, edited by Paul W. Garrett and Austin H. MacCormick, is particularly important because it reveals the state of American prisons on the eve of the great series of riots and prison fires which have taken place the past year at Dannemora, Auburn, Leavenworth, Canyon City, Howard (R. I.), and Columbus.

The net result of its eleven hundred pages of assorted information is the unavoidable conclusion that our prison system is in 1929 essentially what it was in 1829. Minor innovations have been introduced here and there, but the same punitive and repressive methods and non-expert control persist which existed a century ago. Some institutions were better run in 1830 than they are in 1930. This is a sufficient answer to the frequent charge that we are coddling prisoners and that recent riots have been due to the disastrous effect of introducing flossy new experiments of a sentimental character.

Only eight states have civil service laws which apply to the staff of penal institutions. In only two states does the warden come under the civil service laws. Hence, warden and subordinates are political appointees with no professional training. That they are an inferior group is due in part to the small salaries paid. In so important a penitentiary as that at Columbus, Ohio, the warden receives only $3,600 and maintenance. The Eastern Penitentiary at Philadelphia, which pays $12,000, is the only institution offering an amount sufficient to attract a man who will measure up to his job.

Overcrowding is one of the chief menaces of our present prison system. This is due to the increases of crimes by statute, particularly crimes connected with the liquor traffic, to the increased length of sentences, and to the growing reluctance of officials to use the parole power to release prisoners. The two last causes are by-products of our present hysterical effort to check crime by more severe punishment. Conditions are bad all over, but some situations are almost unbelievable. The Federal prison at Leavenworth, designed to accommodate 1,640 prisoners, houses 3,758. The Federal prison at Atlanta was built for 1,580 and has 3,322 inmates. The Ohio penitentiary supposedly housing 1,900 convicts, had on the day of the great fire a population of 4,988. In the Negro ward at Jefferson City, Missouri, there are five and six prisoners in each cell. Overcrowding extends to the reformatories as well. At Mansfield, Ohio, there are 2,900 in an institution built to contain 900 inmates. Decent health and discipline under such conditions are impossible.

Brutal methods of punishment still prevail. While the usual disciplinary measures are imprisonment in a dark cell on bread and water, all the old classics of prison torture are in use—handcuffing to the wall, chaining the legs, the straight-jacket, the lash and strap, cold douches, sweat-boxes, and stocks. In some states, especially in the South, the brutality of the whippings defies belief. However, it is the cruelty of the system as a whole rather than occasional barbarism in punishments which cries out for relief.

Classification is practically absent from our prisons. There is the rudimentary separation of sexes and, in the Southern states, of races. But in general convicts are all lumped together and treated alike, irrespective of age, degree of criminality, or prospect of reformation. Sensible reformative measures are as impossible of application under such conditions as therapeutic efforts in a hospital would be if the patients were treated *en masse* and one drug given to all.

Idleness ranks with overcrowding as one of the leading scandals of our modern prison system. In only five states are the majority of the convicts at work—Connecticut, Massachusetts, Oklahoma, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. In the Federal prisons nearly all the inmates are idle. In Pittsburgh only 250 out of 1,100 are at work in even a perfunctory manner. In Ohio only about 2,800 out of 4,800 have anything to do.

One of the things most needed for immediate relief of the prison crisis is an active and effective parole system. Exactly the opposite is what we have. The present hysteria about crime has led parole boards to become more and more timid about using their authority. Hence the prisoners pile up and rot in our penitentiaries. Further, most of the parole systems really represent nothing more than paper parole. One parole officer may have several hundred or a thousand men under his formal scrutiny. The prisoners are not given enough aid upon release, nor are they provided with any after-care. The whole situation is ideally designed to bring them back within the prison walls.

Health and Medical Conditions in American Prisons and Reformatories, prepared by Frank L. Rector, is a valuable and timely document. There can be no doubt that the therapeutic situation in our prisons is better than the disciplinary. A mediocre medical officer, even under the worst conditions, can do better work than the untrained lay warden and guards. It would be well to place physicians in charge of our prisons until such time as we can get trained and competent psychiatrists.

Dr. Rector finds that the general sanitation of our prisons is good, although he makes reservations as to overcrowding and inadequate ventilation. Food is likewise fairly good, considering what the warden is allowed to pay for it. The average per capita cost of food in our prisons is 24c a day per convict.

Prison hospitals are for the most part lamentably understaffed, and can hardly be regarded as much beyond first-aid stations. The equipment is usually archaic and altogether inadequate. The most prevalent type of malady among prisoners is venereal disease.

Sixteen per cent are suffering from syphilis and more from gonorrhea. Attention to mental disorders is far less active and adequate than the handling of physical disorders. In few prisons is there anything approaching a mental hygiene clinic. Even mental examinations are rare and carelessly administered. Yet mental health is as important a problem among prisoners as physical health.

In short, health conditions in prisons, like discipline and administration, wait on the installation of a scientific and professional régime in our penal institutions. Until we put psychiatrists and social workers in charge of our prisons and apply scientific methods, all other types of effort at prison reform will be sporadic and futile. In prisons as elsewhere we can have success only when we have institutions manned by persons who are capable of sizing up their work and proceeding to execute it in intelligent and workmanlike fashion. One thing is certain: we cannot solve our prison problem merely by developing high blood-pressure and shrieking for more of the savagery which has brought us into our present *impasse*. (Both books published by the National Society of Penal Information. *Handbook of American Prisons,* $4.00. *Health and Medical Conditions in American Prisons,* $2.50. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop postpaid.)

HARRY ELMER BARNES

The Tariff Scandal

IN his new pamphlet, *The Tariff Scandal,* Oswald Garrison Villard speaks out in his customary forthright manner concerning recent tariff developments. He regards the protective tariff as essentially an instrument for plundering consumers. The "scandal" consists of the extent of the plunder, together with the willingness of members of Congress to trade votes in order to insure that dominant special interests in the sections from which the politicians come will be sufficiently pleased to contribute generously to campaign funds and in other ways deliver the ballots needed to make re-election of the politicians assured. The author particularly regrets that some of the so-called progressive Senators did not possess enough stamina to resist the pressure from vested interests in their home states. And the conclusion is drawn that the whole obnoxious condition can be changed for the better only through a "new party, whether it be a third party or a fourth party, which shall take a clear stand against special privilege of all kinds, and especially the corrupting special privilege of the tariff."

Any possible fault to find with this lies with the "especially." On the basis of the statement quoted and perusal of the *Nation* for a dozen years or so, one suspects that Mr. Villard is more *especially* concerned with the tariff than with certain other evils which characterize the American economic scene. Some individuals might prefer to place emphasis on the problem of power control, others on the taxation of land rents and other unearned increments, and still others on such a concrete issue as the "yellow dog contract" and all that it signifies. Calling attention to these additional "especials" is not to detract from Mr. Villard's issue, the importance of which he cogently and eloquently sets forth. Whether the protective tariff is approached from the point of view of the wage earner, the farmer, the consumer, our foreign customer, or the effect on our political life, Mr. Villard makes a persuasive case for taking a course opposite to that we now travel. The reviewer not long ago expressed an opinion (THE WORLD TOMORROW, Feb., 1930) that a turning of the road on the question of tariff policy is not far ahead. The main basis for this view is that evidently producer-interests of a very influential nature are developing with an entirely different outlook on the protective tariff than that traditionally manifested by American business. Should this prove to be the case, the obvious conclusion is that our high tariff policy will be altered—irrespective of the appearance of an effective new party.

This conclusion does not lessen the force of the indictment to which Mr. Villard subjects the most recent spectacle of tariff-making. And when the hoped-for new party arrives, doubtless there will be forceful condemnation of the protective tariff and all its works. Doubtless, also, such a party will have a considerably broader base than mere opposition to the protective tariff. (Published by The League for Independent Political Action. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, 10 cents a copy, $.50 per dozen, $3.00 per hundred.)

LYLE W. COOPER

The Greatest Man of the Age

THUS far nothing has been published in America which is as comprehensive a key to the present situation in India as Kirby Page's pamphlet, *Is Mahatma Gandhi the Greatest Man of the Age?* It opens with a biographical sketch in which Mr. Page has sympathetically portrayed Gandhi's life, beginning with his fight in South Africa on the color bar against the Hindus, and his abandoning the lucrative legal profession in order to devote his entire time and attention to the Indian cause.

I do not agree with the statement in Mr. Page's second chapter which reads: "Huge volumes would be required to describe in detail Britain's gift to India." That seems to me to be too much. Is anything a gift for which one pays a tremendously large amount? When we take all the facts into consideration, Britain has made no "gift," for she never had any such object in mind. Railways were unnecessary for India as a nation, but to the British they were essential to transport troops. Irrigation systems were thoroughly laid out in India long before the British administration. Five billion dollars of British capital invested for trade expansion has not improved India's economic condition. Why? It has simply done what it was primarily designed to do—bring more wealth to the coffers of those British tradesmen who are, and have always been, greedily envious of the physical wealth that was India's. India has enriched Bond Street, the Oxford Circus, Manchester, and Liverpool. As Mr. Page quotes Gandhi: "Much of the deep poverty of India is due to her departure from Swadeshi in the economic life"—meaning products and pursuits indigenous to India. If not a single article of commerce had been brought from outside, India would today be a land flowing with milk and honey. Lancashire cloth, as English historians themselves have shown, was forced upon India, and her own world-famed manufactures were deliberately and systematically ruined to create a demand for the British product. England maintained in the war that right was to rule instead of might. Is it right to reduce India to such a helpless state under this economic pressure?

Before the advent of the British, India was 70 per cent. literate, due to her native institutions of learning. She is now but 10 per cent. literate. A tremendous loot, which prevents money being spent for education, is the enormous salaries—the highest anywhere in the world for like services—which are not *paid* by the Indians but are simply *taken* by the British for themselves.

Of especial interest is the historic letter, quoted by Mr. Page, which Mahatma Gandhi addressed to the present Viceroy before

he launched his campaign of non-coöperation. This letter will go down in history as a monument to that "truth which, crushed to earth, shall rise again," and it proves that Gandhi is indeed the "Great Emancipator" of this age.

On the whole, Mr. Page gives the inside story very clearly, despite his slight partiality to the British.—(Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, 15c per copy; 10 copies for $1.00.)

KRISHNAJI

Further De-Bunking of Washington

THANKS to Messrs. Strachey, Ludwig, et al. iconoclastic biography has become one of the most popular post-war literary rackets. Nevertheless, when a few years ago Rupert Hughes brought out the first historically distilled life of George Washington, there was consternation throughout the Republic. D. A. R.'s, Key Men, and Veterans of Foreign Wars became apoplectic, and for a time Mr. Hughes found himself front page copy in all the metropolitan gazettes. By 1930, however, the appearance of vol. III of the series—*George Washington: The Saviour of the States*—occasioned hardly a stir among the super-patriots. Not that it is in any way milder or inferior to volumes I and II. Decidedly it is not. Perhaps our biography like our criticism and some at least of our social thinking has become more reasonable and realistic; in sanguine moments one hopes that is the explanation.

Mr. Hughes' courage in probing the most sacrosanct period of American history, an era so encrusted with foolish myth, sentimental fallacy, and downright distortion that it has taken on almost Biblical proportions—his courage as well as his immense capacity for careful and intelligent research is magnificent. He has rushed in ahead of the hesitating angels and knocked over the impedimenta of men and events in order to free Washington from the emasculating attributes in which a saccharine and too gullible posterity has swathed him.

No one who follows the story of the critical period with which volume III deals—the years 1777-1781, from the battle of Trenton to Yorktown—can any longer question the greatness of George Washington—a figure as pictured by Mr. Hughes infinitely nobler, wiser, and more heroic than any Parson Weems pretended to make him.

"The more I study Washington the greater and better I think him, yet I am not trying to prove him great or good. I am trying solely to describe him as he was and let him speak for himself. He was a man of such tremendous undeniable achievement that he does not need to be bolstered with propaganda, protected by a priestcraft of suppression, or celebrated by any more Fourth of July oratory. . . .

"It would be hard to find a man who could have taken Washington's place, endured so patiently the torments he endured, or builded out of such chaos an edifice, for all its flaws, so magnificent as the United States. His fiftieth year seemed to mark only the early forenoon of his tremendously busy, infinitely effective day. . . . "

As history the book deserves high rank in American literature, and as biography it is perhaps the most definitive picture we have of the father of our country and his time. The volume is excellently bound and printed, generously illustrated, and so competently documented and footnoted that even the most captious scholar will be satisfied.

One closes the book with the curious impression that the knavery, apathy, greed and hypocrisy prevalent during the World War were not, after all, so strange. No war is productive of good in human beings, and the America of 1776 was no different from the America of 1917, the Sons of the Mayflower to the contrary notwithstanding. To quote Mr. Hughes, again:

"The graft and profiteering of the times was stupendous, and it is unjust to Washington as well as to truth, to conceal any longer the fact that the generation of Americans which coincided with the Revolution, was far from being the supremely virtuous race its descendants have been pleased to pretend. . . .

"While he [Washington] was working and fighting without pay and skirting the edge of personal bankruptcy, and while his few devoted officers and soldiers and their families were going naked and hungry, the country in general did not suffer, and many classes grew rich. . . . " (Published by William Morrow and Company. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, $5.00 postpaid.)

G. E. M.

Anticipating Internationalism

THE story of the rise of nationalism is well told in Herbert Adams Gibbons' *Nationalism and Internationalism.* The author accounts for dating his work from one war to another by saying: "The subject of nationalism cannot be divorced from violence. Nationalism calls for the spilling of blood at birth and during growth; its successive steps so far have been marked by wars."

The book is a clear exposition of the way the ideal of nationalism has of necessity been developed in the countries of Europe. The account of the Versailles Peace Conference confirms the author's statement that internationally speaking . . . "the only law is the law of force." He points out the fact that most treaties are prepared without regard to justice or to the desires of the peoples involved, and he speaks with the vividness of one who was present and cannot yet forget the greed, stupidity, and vanity displayed by the leading actors during the signing of the Treaty of Versailles. He attempts to show the problems that real internationalism faces, and in conclusion he says: "The hope of internationalism lies in nationalism."

The reading of Oscar Newfang's *The United States of the World,* quite fittingly follows that of Gibbons' book, for it indicates the way out of the present European difficulties. Mr. Newfang's comparison of the League of Nations with the early experiences of our country under the Articles of Confederation is most illuminating and points the way to the need of a second form of organization for the League, just as it became necessary for us in America to form "a more perfect union," by adopting our present Constitution. The author sketches the history of our adoption of the Constitution, citing the jealousies of the individual states, their defiance of Congress, and the demonstrated impotence of the Articles of Confederation—all of which are comparable to conditions the League has met. He points out the fundamental differences between the Articles and the Constitution—the first dealing only with states, the second concerned directly with the people who have thus been welded into a homogeneous nation.

The latter part of the book is an admirable argument for the rebuilding of the League of Nations into a world-wide institution —"not a super-government acting upon the governments of the states, but a federal government coördinate with that of the

states . . . the general organization not dominating the state organization, but acting directly upon the citizens in accordance with its grant of authority." Included in the appendix are copies of the Articles of Confederation, the Constitution of the United States, and the Covenant of the League of Nations, in order that the student may make comparisons and test the conclusions reached by the author. Mr. Newfang has done the world a service by putting his argument so simply and clearly. The book deserves a wide sale. (*Nationalism and Internationalism,* published by Stokes, $2.50. *The United States of the World,* published by Putnam, $2.00. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop postpaid.) KATHERINE DEVEREUX BLAKE

Wall Street at the Bar

WILLIAM FLOYD'S *People vs. Wall Street,* appropriately dedicated "to the victims," should not be neglected by anyone who has ever lost money at speculating or, for that matter, by anyone who plans to lose money at speculating some time in the future when business is better again. No more successful exposé of the huge shell-game of "New Capitalism" has thus far appeared among post-panic volumes, most of which are little more than bound tipster-sheets—vulgar, visionless, and superficial. Which is not to say, by long odds, that here is literature. Even Mr. Floyd seldom rises above the jargon of his subject. The merit of *People vs. Wall Street* lies in its being an intelligent and uncompromising indictment of the whole system of public exploitation centering about the two large New York stock exchanges.

The method is interesting. We have a mock trial in which a Mr. Skeptic cross-examines a series of easily recognized witnesses, from Mr. Youngford down to Mr. Cooling, in an effort to convict Wall Street on the charge of insanity. Partially because of the lamentably weak defense, which should in all fairness have presented better arguments, and partially by the astonishing absurdity and self-righteous criminality of the replies, many of which the author has quoted from statements of well known financiers, executives, and economists, the case against Wall Street becomes finally so complete that the Court feels impelled to save the face of the status quo by instructing the jury not to "let sympathy warp your judgment; you must not be influenced by the fact"—one can almost see the judge saying this—"that if you find Wall Street guilty, your personal fortunes will be wrecked." Then comes a short deliberation, followed by the comforting verdict that will wreck no fortunes.

Much of the book's material is familiar, but the uses to which it is put are extremely interesting. Testimony has been gathered from various incredible pronouncements of Schwab, Raskob, Coolidge, Young, Babson, Daugherty, Ford, Rockefeller, Loree, the van Sweringens, Simmons, Cortelyou, Gary, Hoover, Mitchell, and a host of other contemporary giants, to show that, for the most part, they are completely ignorant of the social consequences of their predatory point of view—almost as ignorant as is society itself.

Mr. Floyd is, of course, pleading a case, and he selects his evidence with the end in view of obtaining a conviction. One cannot always follow him the whole way. But it is none the less worth knowing a little of whither we are heading. *People vs. Wall Street* is an entertaining satire upon the most dangerous racket of them all—attuning the world to the ticker. (Published by Vanguard Press. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, $2.50 postpaid.) HENRY T. VOLKENING

WE RECOMMEND

Little Kin Chan, by Berthae Harris Converse, with drawings by Clara Schneder. Friendship Press. 102 pages. $1.25. A pleasurable and broadening story for boys and girls of six to nine about a little Japanese girl and her amusing dog.

The Modern Family, by Ruth Reed. Alfred A. Knopf. 182 pages. $3.00. What the family is for, how it is faring, whither it may be bound, and the problems it must face. A sound, tolerant, enlightened study by the Assistant Professor of Economics and Sociology in Mount Holyoke College.

Literary Ethics, by H. M. Paull. E. P. Dutton & Co. 358 pages. $3.75. A corking bit of research and writing, covering the long development from the days when the literary conscience made cowards of none to our present time of—well, comparative honesty, anyhow.

Scandinavian Literature from Brandes to Our Day, by H. G. Topsöe-Jensen. W. W. Norton and Co. 275 pages. $3.50. Stalwarts in plenty have been produced by the northern peoples, and here is an authoritative study, compactly written and thoroughly illustrated. A valuable handbook for visitors to Scandinavia either by actual presence or by the printed page—or both.

Community Conflict, a study directed by E. C. Lindeman. The Inquiry. 156 pages. $1.50. When there is a conflict mind-set, what are the intelligent ways of going about an effort to effect understanding and reconciliation? This interesting and concrete study contains valuable suggestions for the non-violent technique of group and personal life.

The New Education in the German Republic, by Thomas Alexander and Beryl Parker. John Day Co. 387 pages. $4.00. The old German education is well known, at first worshipped here in America, and then with the war abhorred. The new reform education is less generally known and yet it represents a momentous undertaking. There are valuable discussions of the youth movement and altogether the reader cannot help being lifted with fresh hope and enthusiasm.

Economic Principles of Consumption, by Paul H. Nystrom. Ronald Press Co. 586 pages. $5.00. While this book is written primarily for the business man to enable him to understand the consumer's merchandising possibilities, it is full of meat for the speaker, writer, and general student of social and economic data affecting human welfare. It is indeed a revealing study of how America lives and, while quite the reverse of radical propaganda, there is pabulum here to feed the crusading zeal of economic revolt.

Psychology and Profits, by Donald Laird. B. C. Forbes Publishing Co. $3.50. If you want to find out just what kind of inspirational literature business executives read to keep them keyed up to their jobs, you will do well to peruse Mr. Laird's book. It was evidently meant for prosperous executives for it retails at $3.50, although its contents could easily be compressed into a dollar volume. Most of the material appeared long ago, albeit in slightly different form, in Poor Richard's Almanac.

John D., A Portrait in Oils, by John K. Winkler. Vanguard Press. 256 pages. $2.25. A journalistic and interesting story of the philanthropist, and not noticeably unsympathetic, nor, on the other hand, adulatory. The emphasis is on the unknown human aspects, though the writer is not uncritical.

The Legacy of Sun Yatsen, A History of the Chinese Revolution, by Gustav Amann. Louis Carrier and Co. 302 pages. $3.75. A strongly sympathetic and uncritical, but stirring account of the great liberation movement of the Kuomintang up to and including 1927. The author was one of Dr. Sun's friends and writes from intimate knowledge.

CORRESPONDENCE

Conference of Friends

THE Friends' General Conference for 1930 will be held at Cape May, New Jersey, July 7 to 14. "Quakerism As a Dynamic Religion for the Present Age" is the general topic of discussion. In addition to addresses by Jesse H. Holmes, Henry T. Hodgkin, Norman Thomas, Joseph B. Matthews, Frederick J. Libby, and Wilbur K. Thomas, there will be discussion groups each morning on Religious Education, International Relations, Race Relations, and Problems of Industry. The Conference is open with a cordial invitation to all who are interested in attending. Further information may be obtained from the Friends' General Conference, 1515 Cherry Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

Philadelphia, Pa. J. BARNARD WALTON

A Missionary Reader

THROUGH the courtesy of the Rev. A. Murray, I received the March issue of your magazine, and want you to enter my name for a year's subscription beginning with the April issue. To one who has labored for ten years as a missionary among the Indians in British Guiana and Trinidad, B. W. I., your issues are most interesting. Please let me say that I found this the most challenging, constructive, and inspirational magazine that has come to my desk.

St. Peter's, N. S., Canada G. D. MACLEOD

A Parable

I CANNOT write too extravagantly concerning the rare quality of your March issue. It is a wonderful number; but among all the contributions I select the article by Vida Scudder as the most thought stimulating because it presents a world-wide problem. There should be no conflict between mysticism and political or social reform. Undue emphasis along any one line leads to obscurity and misunderstanding. Perhaps I can illustrate my position by the use of a parable: In a garden was a full blown rose. Night had shed drops of dew on the rose petals, and the morning sunlight changed them to sparkling jewels. "How beautiful I am," said the rose. "Fair ladies kiss me and inhale my breath. Lovers pluck me as a symbol of undying love. I am patrician—the most beautiful rose in all the Master's garden. I am a mystic, I am alone, my beauty is all my own. . . . There is that homely toad, again. Please go away, Mr. Toad."

"You think you are all sufficient unto yourself, Miss Rose. The slender stem upholds you, and down deep in the moist black earth are the roots that give you life and beauty. Only last night while you slept in the moonlight, with my sharp tongue I sought two worms that were ascending your stem, seeking to eat your heart and mar your beauty. I am not beautiful, but I serve a useful and necessary purpose. I conserve life, and life develops from within. Your mysticism and beauty are rooted in mother earth.

Muskegon Heights, Mich. E. H. BARRETT

Anti-Gandhi

LET me say that all of us here in India very warmly appreciate the attempt made by American writers, such as those represented in your March issue, to explain what are the ideals for which we are struggling so hard. While personally I have no sympathy with the particular attempt made by Mr. Gandhi, which I think harms the Indian people more than it benefits them, I feel especially grateful to those outside of India who have had the struggle for freedom for the sympathetic understanding which they desire to show us. I am glad you were able to get an article from Mr. Andrews, a man whom all Indians regard highly because though he is English and of an alien faith, he has shown some of the finest characteristics of both during his association with Indians.

Madras, India C. JINARAJADASA

A Correction

IN your May issue you published a letter by Mary Drury of Wellington, New Zealand, in which the writer said: "In December, 1929, Chief Tamasese was executed by military authority after having been held a convict exile for six months." The reference is to the disturbances in Samoa.

The statement is utterly false. Tamasese was killed in a riot in Samoa, during which a British policeman was killed by Samoans. When the rioters took charge of the streets after the policeman had been killed, there was some shooting at the natives, in the course of which Tamasese was wounded. He died later from his wounds. . . .

I trust you will publish this statement. It doesn't help the good work amongst peoples for grieviously mischievous errors like this to go uncontradicted.

London, England H. T. B. DREW

EDITORS' NOTE:—We are glad to print this correction of a letter previously published in our Correspondence columns.

Defending Dr. Sunderland

IN his review of J. T. Sunderland's *India in Bondage* in your March issue Mr. Vijaya-Tunga adopts a somewhat patronizing tone. He says: "At this stage Indians cannot entirely welcome even a friendly gesture like Mr. Sunderland's." Mr. Vijaya-Tunga is a Ceylonese, not an Indian. He does not possess greater authority to speak for Indians than Gandhi, Tagore, Ansari, Mehru, Malaviya, Lajpat Rai, and many other leaders, and the editors of Indian papers whose reviews I have seen. They have all unreservedly welcomed Dr. Sunderland's book.

Of course, it is a truism that Indians must speak with their own voices. But the voice of a friendly foreigner is never either unnecessary or unwelcome. In their struggles for independence many nations have hitherto had such friends speaking and writing in foreign lands in order to inform and influence world opinion. Dr. Sunderland is such a friend, and his voice is needed at the present juncture. His book demolishes all the arguments of Britishers in justification of holding India in bondage. Therefore, the

book has been suppressed in India. No Indian can use in India the facts, figures and arguments in his book in the way he did without being imprisoned. So we cannot tell the world what we want to. And, therefore, we Indians (including myself, a man of 64 years who has been a publicist for the last forty years) do welcome Dr. Sunderland's voice and are grateful for the same.

Mr. Vijaya-Tunga is right when he lays stress on every nation's right to liberty without any examination of its fitness or unfitness. Observations of similar import are to be found in Dr. Sunderland's book. But apart from the abstract right of every nation to liberty, the oppressive and unjust character of foreign rule has also to be exposed for the sake of convincing those who consider themselves practical-minded. Even our greatest leader, Mahatma Gandhi, has done this in his historic letter to the Viceroy. And *pace* Mr. Vijaya-Tunga, Mahatma Gandhi has referred in that letter to our "culture" also, calling it more ancient than that of Britishers.

In your reviewer's opinion Dr. Sunderland has painted too utopian a picture of India of pre-British days and of the future. For example, Mr. Vijaya-Tunga finds fault with the author for writing: "The source of her (India's) wealth was largely her splendid manufactures. . . ." The reviewer's criticism is: "Renowned as were the crafts of India in her palmy days, it was not her commerce but her natural wealth and the ideal condition of her agriculture that ensured her prosperity."

Dr. Sunderland has stated that India's source of wealth was *largely* her splendid manufactures; he does not say that they were her *only* source of wealth. And her manufactures also were from her *natural* wealth—she did not, *e.g.*, import her raw cotton like Lancashire or Japan but produced it.

Calcutta, India — RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE, *Editor, The Modern Review*

A Compliment

PLEASE renew my subscription for one year. I am sorry to have let the subscription become overdue, for there is no other magazine to be compared with THE WORLD TOMORROW in its splendid attitude toward the problems of the day. It would be a weight on my conscience if I found myself uninterested in it! Which sounds frightfully stuffy but was intended as a compliment. We read everything from *Plain Talk* to *Church Work* via the *Atlantic*, the *American* and the *Ladies' Home Journal;* and THE WORLD TOMORROW is the only one which does not seem dominated by a desire to support some particular viewpoint, regardless of its spiritual implications.

Dartmouth, N. S. — ALICE G. HARVEY

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The Last Page

AMONG the resignations from the D. A. R., over the organization's militaristic policies, is that of a prominent woman in West Orange, N. J.—Miss Margaretta Fort. That's what I call a step toward real disarmament.

* * *

SOME time I intend to take a flyer at playwriting, particularly the old-fashioned mellerdrayma. When I do, I shall probably try to put on the stage the pathetic fallacy of true patriotism in a crisis. Down in West Virginia the state has been destroying cedar trees in a great war against apple rust, a disease spread by cedars. Tree owners, after trying everything else without success in order to preserve their trees from the march of scientific agriculture, resorted to patriotism. They placed American flags on the top of their trees. And, Mrs. Brosseau, would you believe it, the unfeeling, unspeakable fellows went right ahead and cut the trees down just the same! Here's a chance for a play that *is* a play. Give this situation to Gilbert and Sullivan, furnish them with a chorus of tearful D. A. R.'s and a Shearer to act as the "Big Bass Drum," and you'd have something to remember.

I hope you all noticed that Mrs. Brosseau, by the way—the well-known defender of American institutions—has become prominent in the League of American Penwomen. Can it be that even she is ready to concede that the pen is mightier than the sword?

* * *

I HAVE come across a section in Stephen Graham's book, *A Private in the Guards,* where he describes how someone in the British army allotted hymns to each act in the soldier's life. As follows:

Reveille—"Christians, Awake!"
First Parade—"Art thou weary, art thou languid?"
Breakfast—"Meekly wait and murmur not."
Sergeant-Major's Parade—"When He cometh, when He cometh."
Swedish Drill (P. T.)—"Here we suffer grief and pain."
Route March—"Onward! Christian Soldiers."
Dinner—"Come, ye Thankful People, Come."
Rifle Drill—"Go, labour on."
Officer's Lecture—"Tell me the old, old story."
Dismiss—"Praise God, from Whom all blessings flow."
Tea—"What means this eager, anxious throng?"
Free for the Night—"Oh Lord, how happy should we be!"
Lights Out—"Peace, perfect peace."
Inspection of the Guard—"Sleep on, beloved."

SOMEHOW this reminds me that Mr. R. B. Mellon has offered to build a three-million-dollar church for the East Liberty, Pennsylvania, Presbyterian congregation. Looking over his profits from the aluminum tariff and the steel trust, Mr. Mellon will doubtless feel like singing, "Another six days' work is done." Or possibly, "Safely, safely, gathered in."

* * *

I HAVE always maintained a sneaking but unvoiced sympathy for vermin. Hawks and owls, now enlisting the support of ornithologists, as well as foxes and skunks and even unmentionables of the insect order, have never called forth anything but fellowship from me, and they will continue to have my allegiance until I become myself a vegetarian. That, alas, is harder now than ever, since Sir Jagadir Chandar Bose has demonstrated that trees and grass and flowers have subtly sensitive nervous systems.

But never have I possessed the courage to resist the universal prejudice which attributes the origin of all noxious insect pests to foreign parts. I don't know what came over on the Mayflower that wasn't on the official list, but I suspect something must have. We rave against the Mediterranean fruit fly and the Japanese beetle, and if most Americans had their way we would pass a rigid exclusion act that in the insect world would work as sweepingly as our immigration laws work with different varieties of *homo sapiens*. But a brave man, Professor Harry S. Smith of the University of California, has come forward to prove that out of 183 of our most harmful insects, only about 44 per cent. have a foreign origin. Even the boll weevil is a 100 per cent. American which is fair enough, for, reciprocally, as every good entomologist knows, the 100 per cent. American is a boll weevil. Out of 54 of the hemiptera, or *bona fide* bugs, only 23 have been introduced; the rest, I take it, in breezy American fashion, refused to stand on formalities but just started right in as it were to scrape an acquaintance.

* * *

EXCEPT for the undoubted fact that it will help the cause of our Communist brethren—and with helping most of their American doings I for one am in scant sympathy—the Congressional investigation of reds might be an interesting event. It isn't every country that can boast of two investigations to each Communist.

Apart from the humor of the contemplated proceedings, which I fully expect to be high, wide, and handsome, the whole practice of investigating reds ought to have educational value. The only trouble with this theory is the infinitely long time it takes to educate a Congressman, and on top of that just remember that there are 435 in the House and 96 in the Senate—at least, when there isn't a double-header in Washington. Of this number all but a handful are simple. The difficulty of education is indicated by the following dialogue which took place when the bill authorizing the inquiry was being discussed:

"Is this resolution broad enough to include Fascism?" asked Representative Huddleston of Alabama.
"Include what?" asked Mr. Snell.
"Fascism, Fascism," replied the Alabaman.
"I don't know what that is, but I guess it is," answered the Rules Committee chairman.

Can you blame Mussolini, after all, for those warlike speeches, with their pathetic wistful desire to attract world attention? No, Duce, not yet have you conquered; they may have heard of your movement in aboriginal Australia and the upper reaches of the Nile, but there still remains the Rules Committee of the House at Washington, D. C.

* * *

Even teachers
Are God's creatures.
—*The New Yorker.*

And the preachers,
Er—God's screechers?

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